

Endorsement Editorials

Rhetorical Strategies of Compelling Arguments

by

Sheila Margaret Elizabeth Hannon

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

In this project, I examine the rhetorical underpinnings of endorsement editorials published in Canadian newspapers during the spring 2011 federal election campaign. Based on my study of sample texts, I contend that these editorials, intended to encourage readers to support or vote for a candidate or party, draw their persuasive power by their use of a combination of rhetorical genres and appeals.

The endorsement editorial is defined, for the purposes of this study, as an editorial expressing a newspaper's support of a party or candidate, and urging readers to support and vote in the recommended manner. Newspapers speak directly to their readers (and indirectly to the political sphere) in editorials that reflect their beliefs and opinions as an institution. As a specific instantiation of the editorial form, endorsement editorials are a significant area of study because they respond to a perceived exigence or need to address pressing issues by advising readers on their choice of a party or leader to govern the country. Endorsement editorials are usually published only during elections, whether federal, provincial, or municipal. As the voice of the newspaper, endorsement editorials employ a diverse range of argumentative strategies in their effort to convince readers to support the party or candidate preferred by the newspaper.

Based on my study, I find that endorsement editorials combine elements of Aristotle's three forms or genres of texts: deliberative, forensic, and epideictic. I find that the deliberative form, designed to derive the best possible solution, is the mainstay of editorials eliciting voter support in an election. However, the endorsement editorials in my study also incorporate aspects of forensic discourse as they review past actions and policies to evaluate government and candidate performance. Political leaders receive praise – or blame – as the editorial evaluates their worthiness, invoking the epideictic genre.

Furthermore, I argue that each writer assembles a combination of rhetorical appeals – logos, ethos, and pathos – to create a convincing case. Logical appeals might be expected to be the strongest and most acceptable for readers evaluating choices affecting their government and the future of their country. However, the sample texts demonstrate that while logical appeals are

significant, ethical and pathetic appeals, in varying combinations, are often the strongest and most persuasive.

My sample set includes five editorials published in the final days of the 2011 federal election campaign in English-language daily newspapers: the *Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, *Toronto Star*, and *Toronto Sun*. The corpus selection produced several interesting instantiations of endorsement editorials. The *Toronto Sun* published an endorsement identified as the opinion of Sun Media, drawing on the ethos of the corporate chain. The *Toronto Star* employed a unique approach, writing not one, but two endorsement editorials. Published on successive days, the editorials in combination constitute a sustained argument. I describe the first editorial as a “dis-endorsement” to reflect the negative message advising readers to *not* support the incumbent party. The second editorial provides a more traditional endorsement, encouraging readers to switch their support to a third party. The *Globe* and *Post* each published a single editorial endorsing the incumbent party.

My study examines three elements I deem important for successful argumentation: arrangement, argumentative strategy, and audience. I first consider how the sample endorsement editorials structure their argument, identifying the placement of elements such as thesis, endorsement, call-to-action, *kairos* or time-to-act, evidence, refutation, and context. Each editorial incorporates a different usage and arrangement: elements may be absent, or they may appear multiple times. I comment on the rhetorical effects and their impact on the persuasive strength of the argument. As part of arrangement, I consider the use of rhetorical figures affecting word and sentence order and tropes such as metaphors, which are used in the texts to create strong emotional appeals. I next examine the argumentative strategies employing the frameworks described by Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, and the analytical model developed by Stephen Toulmin. Kenneth Burke’s concepts of identification and expectation are invoked to explain the manner in which editorials draw on shared values and beliefs to create a common interest with readers and a strong ethical appeal. My final area of study focuses on the readers or audience; I consider how the assumed readership compares to the reader constructed within the text. I also consider how the endorsement editorials reveal the underlying values and beliefs of the newspaper and how this both reflects and constructs power relations within society.

My study shows that endorsement editorials create persuasive arguments by combining deliberative discourse with forensic and epideictic rhetoric: endorsement editorials are primarily concerned with recommending the expediency of a course of action, in particular electing a party or leader to govern. But they must justify their decisions on the basis of the past actions of the parties and the qualities of leaders. Although grounded in logical appeals, the endorsement editorials in this study sample exhibit a combination of the three appeals, with pathos and ethos often the strongest, to produce a compelling argument.

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A dissertation may be attributed to a single author, but it is always the result of the efforts of many people.

Dedication

The work is dedicated to my mother, Elsie Craig Wilson Hannon, and my late father, Wallace Leonard Hannon, who sacrificed much so that each of their three children could benefit from post-secondary education. As a teacher, my mother instilled in us an appreciation for learning and always supported all our endeavours. My father, a farmer, taught us the value of hard work. Both parents stressed the importance of remembering the true values of life.

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Thank you to all my family, friends, and colleagues, too precious to offend by missing even one. Thank you for being thoughtful, supportive, patient, and considerate. To those who offered advice, and helped with the thought processes, I extend my deepest appreciation.

Learning is not an end in itself; it is a journey that is most enjoyable when shared with kindred spirits.

Sincerely,

Sheila

PunkeyDoodle's Corners

Ontario, Canada

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In their editorial pages, newspapers speak to their readers, advising, analysing, and commenting on issues of the day. In this project, I examine the rhetorical underpinnings of a specific instance of the editorial form that I identify as an endorsement editorial, a text published with the purpose of encouraging readers to support or vote for a candidate or party. I study endorsement editorials published in Canadian newspapers during the spring 2011 federal election campaign. Based on my examination of these sample texts, I contend that these endorsement editorials draw their persuasive power from a combination of rhetorical genres and appeals.

An endorsement editorial is defined, for the purposes of this study, as an editorial that expresses a newspaper's support of a party or candidate and additionally may urge readers to support and/or vote in the recommended manner. On the basis of my study of the sample texts, I argue that endorsement editorials combine elements of Aristotle's three forms or genres of rhetoric: deliberative, forensic, and epideictic. I find that the deliberative form, designed to derive the best possible solution, is predominate in these editorials eliciting voter support in an election. However, the endorsement editorials in my study also incorporate aspects of forensic discourse as they review past events to evaluate government actions and candidate performance. Political leaders receive praise – or blame – as the editorials evaluate their worthiness for office, invoking the epideictic genre. Furthermore, I argue that each writer assembles a combination of rhetorical appeals – logos, ethos, and pathos – to create a convincing case. Logos might be expected to form the strongest and most acceptable appeal to readers who are evaluating choices affecting their government and the future of the country. However, the sample texts demonstrate that while logical appeals are indeed present and significant, ethical and pathetic appeals are often the strongest and most persuasive.

My sample set includes five editorials published during the 2011 Canadian federal election campaign in English-language daily newspapers: the *Globe and Mail*, *National Post*,

Toronto Star, and *Toronto Sun*. The corpus selection provides several interesting examples of endorsement editorials. The *Toronto Sun*'s endorsement identifies itself as the opinion of its parent, the Sun Media newspaper chain. Although editorials centrally written and published by members of a chain are not unheard of in Canadian journalism, they are far from the norm. The *Toronto Star* also provides a unique approach, by publishing not one, but two, endorsement editorials. These editorials, appearing on successive days, constitute a sustained argument when considered in combination. I describe the first editorial as a "dis-endorsement" to reflect its advice to readers that a specific party does *not* deserve a renewed mandate. The second editorial moves forward from this position to provide a more traditional endorsement, urging readers to support another party.

Editorials allow newspapers to speak directly to their readers (and indirectly to the political sphere) in a discourse that reflects their beliefs and opinions as an institution. As a specific instantiation of the editorial text, endorsement editorials are a significant area of study because they respond to a perceived exigence or need to address important issues such as the election of a party or leader to govern the country. Endorsement editorials are published infrequently, usually appearing only during elections, whether federal, provincial, or municipal. As the institutional voice of a newspaper, endorsement editorials employ a diverse range of argumentative strategies in their effort to persuade readers to adopt the views presented.

My study will examine three elements that I deem important for successful argumentation: arrangement, argumentative strategies, and audience. I first examine how the sample endorsement editorials structure their arguments, identifying the placement, and subsequent effect, of elements such as thesis, endorsement, call-to-action, *kairos* or time-to-act, evidence, refutation, and context. Next, I examine the argumentative strategies incorporating the frameworks described by Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, and the analytical model developed by Stephen Toulmin. I draw on Kenneth Burke's concepts of identification and expectation to explain how editorials incorporate shared values and beliefs to create pathetic and ethical appeals. In my final area of study, I consider the readers or audience to determine how the assumed readership compares to the reader constructed within the text. I illustrate how endorsement editorials reveal the underlying values and beliefs of their newspapers, shedding

light on the paper's political positioning while at the same time reflecting and constructing power relations within society.

My close reading of the texts provides insights into the dense argumentation and persuasion at work in endorsement editorials. This study reveals that editorial writers incorporate a complex approach to argumentation and suggests that a combination of methodologies is necessary to understand how these texts create their persuasive effects.

In this introductory chapter, I first address the importance of editorials in public life, and, in particular, the endorsement editorial as an infrequently used, but potentially influential, text. I provide an overview of the production of editorials as texts, their significance and importance as an area of study, and, in particular, the unique aspects of endorsement editorials. I explain the selection criteria for my sample set. I then examine the methodology employed in my study of endorsement editorials and introduce the primary theorists who inform my subsequent study. Finally, I conclude with brief previews of the chapters that constitute the body of this dissertation.

1.1 Editorials as Public Texts

Often termed the Fourth Estate to reflect its perceived position as the fourth branch of government and an essential pillar of democracy (Siegel 18), the press plays an integral role in a democratic society that values freedom of expression and public discussion. Newspapers “strive to inspire conversation and shape national debate by addressing the issues that matter ... most [to readers], and those that impact this country” (Crawley). The editorial, an identifiable and traditional text, provides media, in particular newspapers, with a forum in which to address those issues and share their beliefs directly with readers.

The editorial is a particularly important public text because of its longevity within the newspaper tradition, its frequent yet constrained usage, and its potential influence on culture and opinion. The editorial reflects an interest in affairs of state, an emergent “public sphere” (Habermas 176). The public sphere, according to Jurgen Habermas, describes the exchange of

opinion between individuals in an area of public life not controlled by either church or state. As early as the seventeenth century in Britain, as church and state found their control over the populace weakening, the press filled the void by providing information in the form of corantos or newsbooks, the forerunners of the newspaper, initiating a recurrent struggle for control of the press between state and proprietors (Clyde 201). In Canada, governments and political elites vied with editors and owners for control of the means of communication throughout much of the country's early history (Kesterton 20). The editorial, as the voice of the newspaper, was a sought-after forum and political parties often established their own newspapers in order to promulgate their opinions. Commercialization of the media within the last century has diminished or eliminated overt political control, although newspapers still exert political and economic influence (Sotiron 160). Newspapers continue to exercise their privilege and duty of commenting within their own pages to exercise leadership in the community and foster debate (English "Why"). As members of their political and economic communities, newspapers, through their editorials, play an important role in providing a forum for the public exchange of ideas.

Editorials Have a Long History in Canada

Constraints on editorials stem from the development of the editorial as a text distinct from news stories in form, purpose, and usage. In Canada, as in many other democratic societies, disseminating relevant information and erudite opinions has been an integral part of the role of newspapers since their origin. The first newspaper in what is now Canada, the *Halifax Gazette*, began publication on March 23, 1752 (Desbarats 3). Most newspapers in the colonial era depended on government printing contracts to survive, with the result that their content was either bland and non-committal, or actively supportive of the ruling government (Kesterton 8-9). The important role newspapers played as opinion leaders was acknowledged by Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe in 1793 when he brought a printer into Upper Canada "to assist in establishing the authority of government in the wilderness" (Desbarats 4). As one of the few sources of news in an information-starved country, newspapers were immediately recognized as sources of power. During the early nineteenth century, the debate between increased democracy,

as espoused by Reform supporters, or maintaining the status quo, as proposed by Tory followers, led to the emergence of rival newspapers, as well as papers that represented other special interest groups (Desbarats 5). These papers, known as the party press, were narrow and sectarian in their views, but also less reliant on government patronage (Fetherling 78). A new type of editor emerged who “was emboldened to involve his newspaper in the major issues of the day. . . . [with] outspoken editorial comment on contentious social and political issues” (Kesterton 12). The opinions published invariably reflected those of the newspaper’s political and financial backers, yet the relative ease with which one could establish a paper led to a range of diverse viewpoints.

Early newspapers often consisted of only four sheets. The latter part of the paper was filled with advertising, the front pages contained news and small advertisements, and page two was reserved for subjective editorial matter, either from the editor to his readers or vice versa. As journalism evolved to provide readers with a more objective and, ostensibly, more accurate version of reality that was less dependent on the political views of the editor and/or owner, the “editor retained the right to express opinions and state policies on the editorial page” (Leiter, Harriss, and Johnson 485). Roger Fowler, in *Language in the News*, says this partitioning off of “opinion,” implicitly (and wrongly, he implies) suggests that the other sections, by contrast, are pure “fact” or “report” (208). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the editorial page became “the voice of the institution itself, pronouncing the truth and passing judgment in leaders [editorials] of assorted sizes and different degrees of indignation” (Fetherling 33). Editorials were no longer the voice of only the editor but, rather, reflected the public persona of the newspaper as an organization. Newspapers decreased in numbers and increased in size in the early 1900s with the result that “the growing dependence of newspapers on advertising gradually brought them to identify their own interest with those of the economic and political systems that supported them” (Desbarats 17). As a result, the political and ideological differences that characterized newspapers in earlier years tended to blur. The Canadian newspaper changed from a “political party mouthpiece” into a modern profit-seeking corporation (Sotiron 9). As newspapers became businesses in their own right, rather than organs of political parties or special interest groups, content began to reflect the economic values of the owners (Siegel 32).

This trend continues today; newspapers reflect the economic and political values of their owners, tempered by a concern for the welfare of readers and the community at large. The overall tone of editorials also changed during the twentieth century. “In the beginning, they were far more inclined . . . to exhort, to take positions, to advise a confident course of action . . . The modern editorialist spends far more of his time in explaining, in furnishing the background of important social, economic, political, scientific and religious issues” (Kesterton 132). Although editorials today may be described as more explanatory than exhortatory, more instructive than imperative, the editorial remains the voice of its newspaper.

That voice is no longer that of the fiery editor-owner seeking to right the wrongs in his community. During the twentieth century, the entrepreneurial editor, who was both owner and publisher, has, in most mid- to large-sized Canadian newspapers (and in many smaller papers), been replaced by corporate ownership. The voice of the paper is now collective, reflecting a corporate structure similar to that of other business entities. Editorials still fulfill a social role in a community. “Editorials should provide leadership in the community, helping readers to identify important issues and look at them in new ways” (Russell 83). As a place where the newspaper reserves the right to state its own opinion, editorials provide a method of “calling attention to and perhaps exerting influence on public issues and a means of providing a public forum for the exchange of ideas about such issues” (Hynds and Martin 776). Editorials are widely acknowledged by academics, bureaucrats, and even the general public as important texts to help citizens understand the complexities of issues, whether local or global. Editorials urge readers and/or public figures to take action or enact changes. Editorials may not tell readers *what* to think, but they encourage readers to at least think about an issue. Many editorial writers today view their commentaries as an opportunity to have a conversation with readers. Whatever the intended purpose of an editorial, it draws on an established tradition that both constrains and enables through writing strategies and limitations on the use of the editorial as a text type.

1.2 Editorials as a Newspaper's Voice

An editorial, so named to reflect its authorial source, allows an editor to communicate with readers. While journalistic writing exemplifies many characteristics – accuracy, brevity, clarity, and factuality – an editorial combines these with a clear expression of opinion that distinguishes it from the theoretically “objective” writing expected in news stories (Meltzer 83). As the institutional voice of a newspaper, editorials provide leadership on issues important to the community (English “Opinions”). “It is here where the newspaper pronounces its own position on what it considers the central political and cultural matters of the day” (Conboy, *Language of the News* 9). This is the voice of the editor, publisher, and/or owner seeking to inform, influence, stimulate, and motivate readers concerning important issues (Hynds and Martin 776). Editorials perform several critical purposes in a democratic society; they “hold powerful institutions and elected leaders accountable, demand open court proceedings, fight obsessive secrecy, and unlock file cabinets and computer data bases in the public interest” (Sellar xxiv). As self-appointed guardians of democracy and the public good, newspapers through their editorials influence government priorities, while at the same time providing feedback about the public’s reaction to policy initiatives (Siegel 147). In this way, newspapers, through their editorials, reflect political and social viewpoints of readers, but at the same time help to create or reinforce those values.

The organizational structure of newspapers influences the process used to develop the values and beliefs promulgated in editorials. Publishing an opinion in this textual form indicates the editorial’s inherent power since its use is restricted to a select group of a newspaper’s employees (Meltzer 85). Only those designated as editorial writers, or authorized by management, have access to the textual form of the editorial. The editorial is best described as the opinion of the newspaper as a corporate entity or organization (D. Rooney 116; Meltzer 85; Hynds and Martin 776). It does not reflect the opinion of the publisher as an individual (although it will rarely stray far from this person’s views). Nor does it represent only the opinion of the editor, editorial page editor, or the editorial writer, although again, these views may coincide. Editorials reflect the opinions supported by a newspaper’s editorial board, which is comprised of the editorial writers, the editorial page editor, and senior management such as the managing editor, editor-in-chief, and/or publisher (D. Rooney 116; Fraser 107–08; Meltzer 85; Rupa 598).

Editorial boards meet regularly, usually daily, to discuss the latest news and determine which issues warrant editorial comment and what stand the newspaper should take (Meltzer 85). The group determines who will write the editorial that will reflect this consensus of opinion. To signal this “group thought,” the editorial regularly uses the first-person plural pronoun “we.” The writer or author is not acknowledged with a credit or byline, as is the case in most other journalistic genres (Rupar 595; Meltzer 86). The newspaper, with this linguistic strategy, retains responsibility for the viewpoints, rather than assigning them to an individual writer, as with opinion articles known as columns. Constraints on resources, such as writers and space reserved for editorials, particularly in comparison to that allocated for news and other textual genres, restricts the number of editorials written and published, thus increasing their inherent value.

With a newspaper, the contents are divided between advertising (paid content) and “editorial copy” or textual features that are selected by the newspaper and its employees for inclusion (Bell, *Language* 13). Editorial copy includes opinion articles, such as editorials and other forms of commentary, and news, differentiated between “hard news” to signal its “objective” factual basis and “soft news” such as features, which are more descriptive, less time-sensitive, but still factual (Conboy, *Language of the News* 8). An editorial differs from a news story in that it purposefully and explicitly conveys an opinion. Writers gather facts, usually from the paper’s own news stories (Hynds and Martin 777), with the goal of persuading readers to adopt an opinion or perform an action. “While news informs, editorials assess; where the news explains what has happened, the editorial tells us why and how it could affect our lives” (Rupar 599). Editorials can fulfill their leadership role in several ways. “The best editorials ... advance debate, lead a community, illuminate dark corners or inspire lofty thoughts” (Sellar xxiv). Editorials “endorse candidates, take stances on issues, criticize official decisions and comment on events” (Meltzer 85). An editorial with the primary purpose of advocacy may encourage readers to take a particular action or adopt a specific belief.

In this dissertation, I focus on advocacy editorials with a political purpose, in particular editorials that support a party or candidate during an election. I term them “endorsement editorials” to highlight their explicit support for a candidate and/or party.

Editorials Stimulate Public Debate

Newspapers consider election endorsements part of their responsibility as a strong voice in the choices affecting Canada and its destiny. Endorsements are a “vital expression of a newspaper’s voice of leadership in its community” and part of its “democratic responsibility to foster public debate on matters of importance to citizens” (English “Why”). Endorsements can demonstrate varying strengths of support for candidates or parties. As will be discussed in chapter 2, an endorsement can suggest consideration of a particular candidate, or it can advocate explicit support. In some cases, editorials may advise readers on a particular course of action, and specifically encourage them to vote for a particular party and/or candidate.

Editorial endorsements are not without controversy. In 2012, two Chicago papers took differing approaches to political endorsements. The *Chicago Sun-Times* announced that it would no longer make political endorsements, fearing that they compromise its perceived objectivity. The *Chicago Tribune* responded that it would continue making endorsements since it would be abrogating its responsibility if it advises readers on issues and then does not endorse who is most likely to advance those goals (Lampinen). These positions illustrate the concerns and responsibilities that newspapers attach to their use of editorials. Editorials are essential for creating public awareness of specific issues, which in turn shapes priorities and a sense of importance in the public’s mind (Siegel 147). “No one should ever make the mistake of thinking that newspaper editorials actually have the power to change or alter public opinion” (D. Rooney 116). Numerous studies indicate that endorsements probably do not have a significant effect, with the exception of municipal campaigns, and may even cause voters to vote against the newspaper’s choice (English “Why”). Studies are divided on whether editorial endorsements have a significant effect on election outcomes. One study determined that, of occasional newspaper readers who read an endorsement for a candidate during the 2002 U.S. election, “a significant portion – 11.7 per cent said their voting decision was affected by the endorsement article” (Meltzer 84). Endorsement therefore had a measurable effect on the election process. In a study by Brian Knight and Chung Chiang, newspaper endorsements for presidential candidates were found to influence voting decisions in the 2000 U.S. presidential campaign. Voters were more likely to support the recommended candidate following the publication of an endorsement,

but the degree of influence depends on the credibility of the paper. Endorsements for a Democratic candidate from left-leaning newspapers are less influential than endorsements from neutral or right-leaning newspapers, suggesting that “voters are sophisticated and attempt to filter out any bias in media coverage of politics” (Knight and Chiang 19).

John Geiger, editor of the *Globe and Mail*’s editorial board, notes that editorial endorsement is “a responsibility we take very seriously.” But Geiger does not overstate the influence of these endorsements. “I don’t think endorsement editorials decide elections, they are simply another piece of information that voters consider before exercising their right and duty. And let’s be clear: this is the opinion of the *Globe and Mail*’s Editorial Board, it is not the view of the newsroom, which is non-partisan and is concerned with collecting and disseminating facts.” Despite lack of definitive evidence of their influence, endorsement editorials have been written and published for many years by most Canadian newspapers. Editorials are particularly effective at putting issues on the agenda and stimulating public discussion. The *Globe and Mail*’s editorial endorsing Stephen Harper in the 2011 election provoked a massive response. The endorsement quickly became the most-read story on the website, generating fierce reader debate that included “more than 3,300 comments, 6,000 Facebook recommendations and almost 1,000 Twitter mentions (excluding retweets)” (“Reader Reaction”). The reader responses ranged from support to outrage.¹ Aside from their ability or inability to influence electoral outcomes, editorials have an influence on social and political culture. Editorials not only reflect the concerns of the community, but they help shape the public agenda and guide the debates. A newspaper’s decision to write an editorial lends validity and credibility to an event or cause. At the same time, editorials are expressions of “the broader ideological stance of the newspaper’s owners and managers (Henry and Tator 93). As such, they have an important role in creating and reinforcing the “institutional status quo” (Rupar 593). By their nature, editorials are also conversations among a society’s economic and power elites, with the public sometimes more of a spectator than an addressee (Henry and Tator 93). “Media ‘discourse’ is important both for what it reveals about a society and because it also itself contributes to the character of society”

1 The *Globe* published a counter-commentary by Matthew Hays, “Anyone But Harper: A Dissenting Endorsement,” on Apr. 20, 2011.

(Bell, “Discourse” 64–65). Endorsement editorials not only allow a newspaper to help readers understand and analyse a political situation but, through their explicit endorsement and/or suggestions for action, help shape what happens in that community.

Endorsement Editorials are Rhetorical Arguments

In this project, I examine the rhetorical strategies of endorsement editorials using the three forms or genres of texts identified by Aristotle: deliberative, forensic, and epideictic (1359a). Aristotle advised that the deliberative form is best suited for political oratory. I argue that the deliberative form, designed to derive the best possible solution, is the predominate genre employed by editorials seeking to influence voters in an election. However, the endorsement editorials also employ forensic discourse as they review past actions and policies to evaluate and assign responsibility in the course of their argument. Political leaders receive praise – or blame – as the editorial considers their worthiness to lead the country, reflective of the epideictic genre. I determine that endorsement editorials in this sample set incorporate aspects of the three forms, in varying combinations, to create a persuasive argument. Further, I argue that each writer assembles a combination of rhetorical appeals – logos, ethos, and pathos – to create a compelling case for the views expressed. Appeals based on logic or the reasonableness of proposals might be expected to form the strongest and most acceptable appeals to readers concerning matters of state and governance. However, my analysis of the sample texts suggests that although logos is present and important, endorsement editorials make significant use of appeals based on pathos or creating an emotional response in readers, and on ethos or the credibility of the newspaper. My study shows that editorials incorporate the three appeals – with pathos and ethos sometimes the strongest – to create a persuasive case for the endorsement.

Although researchers have studied journalism and editorials, work has generally originated from a communications theory perspective (Skinner, Gasher, and Compton; McQuail; Meltzer), covering such aspects as ethics (Hafez; Herrscher); social responsibility (Hanitzsch; Christians and Nordenstreng); or globalization (Gorman and McLean; Held and McGrew). Other research considers the opinion-generating aspects of editorials from a discourse analysis perspective (Rupar). The rhetorical aspect of language use within the context of journalism, in

particular editorials, has not received significant attention in academic studies to date. In addition, much of the work has been from British and American perspectives; my study builds on previous scholarship to provide a Canadian perspective and to explore a textual form that has received little attention to date.

Canadians Face Major Decisions in Spring 2011

In the spring of 2011, Canadians faced their fourth election in seven years. Political observers and pundits decried the election as unnecessary and wasteful. Voters groaned at the thought of five weeks of political campaigning. The reluctance with which citizens and politicians greeted the writ could not erase the importance of the decision facing Canadians. Canada had emerged relatively unscathed from the 2008 economic crisis that brought down major financial institutions in the United States and spread to countries worldwide. Although Canada's economy remained strong, the American and European recoveries were lacklustre, posing a threat that they might fall back into recession and drag Canadians into the economic fallout. The indecisive nature of preceding elections and the resultant minority governments stalled any momentum in governmental legislation. Canadians as a whole expressed an overwhelming desire for stability to end the economic and political uncertainties.

During the campaign, the governing Conservatives argued that they were best positioned to manage the country's finances in an era of fragile economic recovery. But incumbent Prime Minister and Conservative leader Stephen Harper also insisted on the need for a majority government in order to follow through on the Conservative low-tax agenda and to prevent the possibility of a "fifth election in no time at all" (Campion-Smith and MacCharles). Harper's consistent request for a "strong, stable, national majority Conservative government" (Chase "Majority") reflected, as the results would show, the desire of voters for stability in an era of uncertainty. The country's major newspapers, as they had many times before, added their voices to the election debate, using their editorial platform to delineate the issues and potential solutions facing Canadians. They shared these views with their readers, commenting on general election issues. In the final days of the campaign, newspapers published editorials specifically endorsing (or opposing) candidates or parties; in some cases, these endorsement editorials explicitly urged

readers to vote for the newspaper's preferred party. Because an endorsement editorial announces a paper's preferred choice of party or candidate in an upcoming election, only one endorsement editorial is traditionally published by each newspaper. The level of endorsement that each newspaper advocated was rooted in the circumstances facing Canada and Canadian voters at that point in time. Commenting on an election is not unusual for newspapers in a democratic country, but there was a sense that much was at stake this time. This sense of urgency – a pressing need to discuss, comment, and advise – is evident in these sample editorials that added their voices to the unfolding political drama.

1.3 Objects of Study

In this study, I examine endorsement editorials published in major English-language daily newspapers in Canada prior to the federal election of May 2, 2011. I selected this particular election because of its timeliness and the perceived critical nature of the decisions facing Canadians. A federal vote also provides an opportunity to consider national, rather than regional or local issues, and provides a larger body of newspapers for the selection of the corpus. As a Canadian citizen, I was aware of the sense of criticality and uncertainty evident during the election campaign, and conjectured that this would have resulted in interesting commentary.

I searched for editorials providing a strong statement of opinion concerning a party or candidate. An endorsement editorial, for the purposes of this study, is an editorial that provides discursive support, or recommends voting, for a party or candidate during an election campaign. Endorsement editorials are often published during the final days of an election campaign as readers prepare to vote. For the sample texts, I chose newspapers with relatively large circulations and coverage areas. The *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* provide a national perspective. I selected two other Toronto-based newspapers, the *Toronto Star* and the *Toronto Sun*, as publications that, although not national in scope, have a wide circulation area beyond their city of origin. The central location of the four papers provides a perspective that allows for a comparison unfettered by regional interests and issues, as can be the case in a federal system such as Canada's. In addition, these papers are headquartered in, and therefore may speak from

the perspective of, the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), a part of the country that contained many of the seats identified as potential “swing” ridings that could determine if the Conservatives would obtain a majority mandate.

However, while selecting the actual texts, I made two unexpected discoveries. The *Toronto Star* published two endorsement editorials. As my study shows, these form a cohesive argument, preparing the discursive ground with what I term a “dis-endorsement” of one party followed the next day by a more traditional supportive endorsement of another party. The *Toronto Sun* provides a second interesting instantiation of the endorsement editorial in that its opinion is explicitly attributed to the Sun Media chain; the editorial was published in the chain’s *Sun* newspapers in five Canadian cities. Therefore, my corpus consists of five editorials, one each from the *Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, and *Toronto Sun*, and two from the *Toronto Star*. The editorials that constitute the corpus are:

“Election 2011: Facing Up to Our Challenges.” *Globe and Mail*, Apr. 28, 2011

“Still Right for Canada: Stephen Harper’s Conservatives are the Clear Choice in Uncertain Times.” *National Post*, Apr. 29, 2011

“The Election Choice: No New Mandate for Conservatives.” *Toronto Star*, Apr. 29, 2011

“The Election Choice: For Layton and the NDP.” *Toronto Star*, Apr. 30, 2011

“Sun Backs Stephen Harper.” *Toronto Sun*, May 1, 2011

I now briefly describe each newspaper, positioning it in the media landscape of Canada 2011.

The *Globe and Mail*, founded in Toronto in 1844, describes itself as “Canada’s national newspaper” serving readers who are “educated, informed, influential.” The *Globe* has the largest daily average circulation of the four newspapers with 318,000 copies, but is second in total circulation to the *Toronto Star*.² Founded as a Liberal Party paper, the *Globe* has endorsed both Liberals and Conservatives throughout the years, but most recently has supported the

² Circulation statistics are drawn from information on NewsCanada, a website sponsored by the Canadian Daily Newspaper Association and the Canadian Community Newspapers Association and from the websites of the individual newspapers, in particular the MediaKit section that contains information for the use of advertisers. The circulation and other statistics in both cases are based on NADBank, the National Audience Data Bank, a surveying organization utilized by newspapers to verify circulation figures. The figures are also comparable to those published by CARD, Canadian Advertising Rates and Data, a central source of information on all media in Canada.

Conservatives. The *Globe* is Canada's largest-circulation national newspaper and second-largest circulation daily newspaper after its long-time rival, the *Toronto Star*. The nationally distributed *Globe and Mail* is considered a voice of business and professional classes.

The *National Post*, also based in Toronto, was founded in 1998 by media magnate Conrad Black to provide a voice for Canadian conservatives because he felt the *Globe* was too liberal. The *Post*, which incorporates the former *Financial Post*, takes a national perspective but is no longer distributed in certain parts of the country. Its daily circulation is about 158,000 copies, approximately half that of its rival, the *Globe*. The *Post*, like the *Globe*, is considered a voice for the business and professional sectors.

The *Toronto Star*, established in 1892, is also published in Toronto and is widely distributed across southern Ontario. The *Star*, with a daily average circulation of about 292,000, is Canada's highest circulation newspaper, due to the large reach of its Saturday paper. The *Toronto Star* publishes seven days a week, with the highest weekly average circulation of more than two million copies, compared to the *Globe*'s weekly average of 1.9 million.

Toronto Sun also publishes seven days a week. Founded in 1971 as the successor to the *Toronto Telegram*, the *Toronto Sun* is a tabloid newspaper focusing on Toronto. The *Toronto Sun* is the smallest of the four newspapers in the corpus, with a daily average circulation of 145,000 and a weekly average of just more than one million, due to its weekend editions. The *Sun* formula of feisty news coverage has been replicated in four other cities (Edmonton, Calgary, Ottawa, and Winnipeg), giving rise to the Sun Media chain.

These newspapers are compatible with the categories Richard Rooney uses in a study of United Kingdom newspapers: the *Globe* and the *Post* constitute "quality" or serious newspapers, read by people of considerable cultural influence, closest to the public sphere model of Habermas (176). The *Sun* epitomizes the "tabloid or non-serious" newspaper that values the private sphere before the public; the *Star* compares to the "mid-market" newspapers that fall in between (R. Rooney). Therefore, these four newspapers provide a sample set addressed to a broad range of readers, and with a variation of register ranging from the erudite and more formal language of the *Globe* and *Post* through the mid-range of the *Star* to the more oral and informal tone employed by the *Sun*. In addition, they all provide a perspective from a geographically

central location that allows an opportunity for comparison of the issues they address and how they frame them for readers. The sample texts provide an interesting range of commentary, both in content and rhetorical strategies, illustrating how an endorsement editorial can be adapted to specific rhetorical purposes and contexts. In order to examine this range of corpora, I draw on theoretical frameworks from the rhetorical and argumentation fields. I will briefly survey the major theorists that inform my study but reserve more detailed consideration for the body of the dissertation where other theorists are also called upon as required.

1.4 Methodology and Theoretical Framework

This study employs close reading of sample texts to reveal the rhetorical strategies and appeals that editorial writers rely on to construct arguments that will increase the adherence of readers to the opinions proposed. In my study, I consider editorial argumentation from several perspectives. I first investigate arrangement, one of Aristotle's five canons of rhetoric, focusing on the assembling of the argument and the placement of key components such as the thesis, evidence, endorsement, and call-to-action as well as the use of rhetorical figures to enhance pathetic and ethical appeals. Secondly, I examine the argumentative strategies employed by writers to present their viewpoint and encourage audience adherence. Thirdly, I examine the audience addressed or invoked by the writers to determine how the editorial positions itself in relation to its readers, and how the editorial incorporates the inherent beliefs and values of the newspaper as an institution.

The theoretical framework of this dissertation is based in the rhetorical tradition that traces its roots back to Aristotle. His concepts of arrangement and structure inform chapter 2, which investigates the principal components and their arrangement to determine the intended effects. For the interrogation of the argumentative strategies, I rely on prominent rhetorical theorists of the twentieth century: Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, Stephen Toulmin, and Kenneth Burke. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, in *The New Rhetoric – A Treatise on Argumentation* and in other publications, provide important resources for understanding the nuances of argumentative strategy. They focus on the “discursive techniques that allow us to

produce or to increase the mind's adherence" to the claim presented (4). Their study of how people reason about values resulted in their comprehensive classification of discursive techniques and argument schemes that examines frameworks, starting points, and techniques of argumentation. Toulmin, in *The Uses of Argument*, proposes a model or framework of components for analysing arguments. I use Toulmin's vocabulary to discuss how arguments are constructed. Although I provide a more detailed discussion in chapter 3, I note here three of the main terms in his paradigm that I employ in my study: Claim or conclusion, a statement whose validity must be established; Grounds or facts and reasons employed to support the Claim; and Warrants, which indicate the mental reasoning linking the Grounds and Claim. Toulmin's model focuses attention on the thought processes inherent in an argument. Burke, in *A Rhetoric of Motives*, provides two concepts that are relevant to understanding the ethical and pathetic appeals that make rhetoric persuasive. Burke argues that persuasion results from identification. "You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your ways with his" (*Rhetoric* 55, emphasis in original). Identification or consubstantiality results when readers recognize a commonality or a sense of shared values with the writer and/or the text. The reader is thus rendered more receptive to the viewpoints presented (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20-23). Burke's second concept, expectation, explicates how forms or patterns of thought provide people with an expectation of how an argument will proceed. When the pattern conforms to that anticipated, readers gain a sense of satisfaction or fulfillment, which then extends to the argument's content (*Counter-Statement* 124-29). Both identification and expectation function to create pathetic and ethical appeals.

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, Toulmin, and Burke, through their respective concepts of argumentation, provide models that are applicable to arguments in everyday situations, whether public debates, the classroom, or the media. Their work is discussed more extensively in chapter 3. While these are the three main theorists that I rely on in my study, I invoke others, as needed, to help explicate other aspects of argumentation in the endorsement editorials. I now conclude with a brief overview of each of the following chapters.

1.5 Chapter Previews

Chapter 2 – *Arrangement*

In this chapter, I investigate how arrangement, one of Aristotle's five canons of rhetoric, contributes to the persuasive nature of an endorsement editorial. I interpret arrangement as the method in which the argument is assembled: the order in which the elements are presented, how they are combined, and the resultant effects of these choices on the strength of the argument.

To ground this study, I briefly outline the parliamentary system in a democracy such as Canada. I then provide a brief snapshot of the economic and political situation in Canada in the spring of 2011, when these sample endorsement editorials were written. This context is important for understanding the rhetorical situation in which they participate. I rely on Lloyd Bitzer's concept of exigence as a social, political, or economic imperfection that can be resolved by the use of discourse ("Rhetorical" 221). For Bitzer, there is an element of urgency in the need to resolve this imperfection. I argue that these sample editorials were penned in response to a perceived exigence in the Canadian political landscape: the uncertainty stemming from the global financial crisis and the domestic political concern with successive minority governments. These, and other events, resulted in a desire for stability that is echoed in the editorials. I contend that the exigence is similar for each of the endorsement editorials, which address the election situation and the decision that voters face. I also establish and define the terms that I use for the elements within the editorial structure: thesis, endorsement, call-to-action, *kairos* or time-to-act, evidence, refutation, and context.

Although the terminology of "arrangement and structure" suggests that argument relies on presenting information in a reasoned and understandable order, the arrangement of an argument also impacts a reader's emotional response and assessment of the credibility of the source. Appeals to logos, ethos, and pathos are therefore important components of arrangement and I analyse the sample texts to determine how writers create and combine these appeals through the use of arrangement. In addition, I investigate the use of the enthymeme as an element of arrangement. I also show that rhetorical figures and tropes are an effective means to clarify an argument and to create pathetic and ethical appeals.

Chapter 3 – *Argumentation*

This chapter examines the five endorsement editorials to distinguish the argumentative strategies they employ to persuade readers, and the manner in which the editorials subsequently support their claims and opinions. As persuasive texts, editorials contain a “written discourse that combines a great number of arguments with the aim of winning the adherence of an audience to one or more theses” (Perelman, “Theory” 1400). The theses presented in election-related editorials can range from the very general, “Be sure to vote” to the very specific, “Vote for X Party.” Their explicit purpose is to encourage readers to subscribe to the newspaper’s view favouring a particular leader or party, but also to move readers to put that belief into action by voting for the preferred candidate. My analysis is informed by the work of the previously mentioned rhetorical scholars Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, Toulmin, and Burke. However, in order to explain the implicit nature of some of the arguments, I draw on Aristotle’s schematic device of the enthymeme, which is often described as an incomplete or truncated syllogism. For Aristotle, the enthymeme is significant because it is one of the two types of proofs; he identifies examples as the other type of proof. My study finds that the editorials utilize a variety of the argumentative strategies outlined by the three theorists, singly or in combination, to create a persuasive text. While arguments based on logos are prevalent, the editorials also rely heavily on incorporating ethos and pathos to strengthen the persuasiveness.

Chapter 4 – *Audience*

This chapter explores the theoretical concepts of audience and reader. The language of a news medium is an exercise in audience design (Bell, *Language* 145). In their role as economic institutions, newspapers have always created readers, not news, as their primary function (Conboy, *Language of Newspapers* 7). Register, style of language, what is written about, and how it is written create a textual version of an ideal reader (Conboy, *Language of the News* 11), and it is to this ideal reader that the editorial directs its argument. I utilize the concepts of audience addressed/audience invoked to interrogate this concept of audience or reader as it is instantiated in endorsement editorials (Ede and Lunsford 153).

By drawing on the values that it shares with this invoked reader, the editorial creates identification that can result in increased adherence to the message presented. A close reading of the language choices and selection of issues in the sample endorsement editorials reveals aspects of the values that the newspaper, as an institution, considers important. The sample texts are examined to consider how the editorial textually positions the newspaper in relation to its readership and to other institutions such as government and political parties. For example, the use of the pronoun “we” may refer to the newspaper as an institution, or it may include the reader and/or all Canadians. At other times, the editorial may prefer to distance itself and assume the status of informed observer and commentator. I also discuss the reader or audience that the editorial assumes will identify with the values espoused (Burke, *Rhetoric* 55) and how this audience correlates to the readership of the newspapers. Some of the values that a newspaper upholds are incorporated in the type of government that it envisions as the best choice for Canada. I therefore examine the differing visions of government that each editorial promotes, particularly as it is revealed through the conception of leadership, and what that might suggest for its understanding of its reader and its own positioning in the public sphere.

Chapter 5 – *Concluding Observations*

In this chapter, I draw together the findings of my close readings of the sample texts, and discuss their implications for the study of argumentation in general and of endorsement editorials in particular. The three areas of arrangement, argumentation, and audience provide a solid framework with which to investigate endorsement editorials, but they are not comprehensive. I suggest other areas that could be explored in relation to endorsement editorials to provide further insight into the manner in which they accomplish their persuasive goals. The endorsement editorial as an example of political public discourse is an area rich with potential avenues of investigation and that I suggest warrant further study. In this vein, I propose trajectories for future research that will help us discover the rhetorical strategies and possibilities inherent in the endorsement editorial.

Chapter 2

Arrangement

In this chapter, I consider how the sample endorsement editorials are constructed – in particular, how key features or segments of the argument are positioned within the body of the text. Just as the frame shapes the completed design (and strength) of a building, the arrangement of sections similarly impacts the persuasive strength of an argument. Arrangement considers where components of the argument are positioned and, therefore, how they relate rhetorically to each other or, in other words, the “strategic planning” of a text (Corbett 299). In particular, it considers “the inclusion, omission, or ordering of those parts according to the rhetor’s needs and situation and the constraints of the chosen genre” (Fahnestock, “Arrangement” 32). In addition to the placement of major sections of an argument, arrangement will be examined at the level of paragraph, sentence, or word. The rhetorical construction, the enthymeme, which constitutes a micro-arrangement, as well as figures and tropes will thus be noted. Arrangement is a considered decision that can add to, or detract from, the compelling nature of an argument such as an endorsement editorial.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Arrangement or *dispositio*, one of the five canons or principles of rhetoric, involves the assembling of the argument: structure, order, and organization. Although Aristotle suggests that a speech need have only two parts, the statement and the proof, he later increases this to four: the introduction, the statement of facts, the proof (argument), and the epilogue that includes the summary and conclusion. Refuting the opponent’s case forms part of the argument. Outlining comparisons with the opposing argument serves the same purpose, as both strategies magnify the speaker’s position and thus “prove” something (1414a,b). While these divisions capture the essence of an argument, I contend that the editorials’ textual features can be demarcated into seven components based on their persuasive and argumentative functions. These include thesis, endorsement, call-to-action, *kairos* (time-to-act), evidence, refutation, and context. I focus on

their placement and juxtaposition within the argumentative structure and the resultant synergy that affects the reader's overall amenity to persuasion. Although each part performs its own persuasive function, these may be strengthened or diminished by their placement. At the same time, it is important to remember that the completed text represents only one of many options available to a writer, and that any analysis should also consider "the unchosen possibilities" (Winterowd, "Dispositio" 45). These possibilities, by comparison, shed light on the motivations behind the options selected.

Classical rhetorical theory prescribes a certain ordering or arrangement of the parts of the argument, but flexibility is also advised, based on a consideration of the situation and the desired effect. For example, Aristotle notes that if a rhetor speaks first, he may choose to present his own arguments prior to refuting the opposition. However, in cases where the opposition has already presented its case, the speaker is advised to attack that position first to "make room in the minds of the audience for your coming speech" (1418b). Classical rhetorical theory suggests that the situation will dictate the placement to some extent. However, "advice on where to put the rhetor's main claim, for example, remains consistent for two thousand years. A proposition that is well known or uncontroversial can be stated at the outset. A claim that is unfamiliar or unacceptable should be postponed or only implied" (Fahnestock, "Arrangement" 34). The placement of sections of the argument depends on the persuasive function of each part and the rhetor's needs (Fahnestock, "Arrangement" 33). The importance of the intended effect on an audience is emphasized by Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca in *The New Rhetoric*, who advise that "order is bound to be important, as adherence depends on the audience" (491). They further note that the strength of an argument can depend on its position within the text. "An argument will often appear strong only because preceding arguments have laid the ground for it" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 500). Because the purpose of rhetorical discourse such as an editorial is to persuade readers, the manner in which arguments and information are presented can significantly influence the degree of reader receptivity.

Although the terms arrangement and structure suggest that argument relies on presenting information in a reasoned and understandable order, the arrangement of an argument also impacts a reader's emotional response and assessment of the credibility of the source. In addition

to the appeal to logos, appeals to ethos and pathos are essential components of arrangement and an understanding of their effects is essential in determining how arguments combine them to persuade readers. Rhetorician Kenneth Burke's concept of expectation explains how arrangement or the placement of aspects of an argument can enhance persuasiveness. He notes that forms or patterns of thought provide people with an expectation of how an argument will proceed. When the pattern conforms to that anticipation or expectation, readers gain a sense of satisfaction or fulfillment, which then extends to the argument's content (*Counter-Statement* 124–29). Rhetorical figures based on repetition of words or structures function on this same principle, drawing a reader into the rhythm of the structure and creating a positive emotional reaction that can transfer to the content. If the form is pleasing, then the content is perceived to be pleasing, as well. Burke's concept of identification or consubstantiality is also relevant to the development of pathetic arguments. The writer's deliberate creation of commonality or a sense of shared values engenders a sense of identification by the reader with the writer and/or the text, thus rendering the reader more receptive to the viewpoints presented subsequently (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20-23). Thus, readers will be more receptive to viewpoints if the writer has positioned ethical or pathetic appeals prior to the presentation of the opinion. In my study, I examine where a writer positions elements that incorporate these concepts and consider the resultant persuasive effect. Burke's theories and those of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca are detailed more extensively in chapter 3. Although the pathetic appeal is an important aspect of Burke's concept of identification and consubstantiality, it is not the only one. Identification, by invoking shared values between writer and reader, also functions as an ethical appeal wherein the speaker creates an "identification of interests to establish rapport between himself and his audience" (Burke, *Rhetoric* 46). This ethical appeal reassures the reader of the credibility of the writer, making him or her more receptive to the arguments presented.

Aristotle suggests that persuasion must be applicable to the specific situation. Rhetoric, for him, is "the ability, in each particular case, to see the available means of persuasion" (1356a). He defines three principal forms that persuasion might take: ethos, pathos, and logos. The first type of appeal depends on the personal character of the speaker; the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind; the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the

content of the speech itself (1356a). Aristotle suggests that ethos is an effective persuasive tool because “we believe good men more fully and more readily than others” (1356a). Adaption to audience, context, and subject are important components of Aristotle’s conception of ethos (Johnson 243). Ethos is based on the audience’s assessment of whether the writer is knowledgeable and credible and their confidence in the writer’s good sense and good will, demonstrated by the writer’s choice of words and treatment of a subject. In addition, ethos may be assessed on whether the writer observes principles of valid reasoning, shows respect for values, and has an interest in the welfare of the audience. Ethos is important in deliberative or forensic rhetoric to offset mistrust or suspicion that the speaker is not in command of the facts (Johnson 243). Although the writer may have a reputation that will favorably dispose the audience, “it is the discourse itself which must establish or maintain the ethical appeal.” This “image” that the writer seeks to establish must be pervasive throughout the discourse (Corbett 94-5).

The second mode of persuasion, pathos, comes “through the hearers, when the speech stirs their emotions. Our judgments when we are pleased and friendly are not the same as when we are pained and hostile” (Aristotle 1356a). The rhetor’s ability to arouse certain types of emotions in the audience forms a crucial intersection between audience, rhetor, and subject matter (Colavito 494). Aristotle’s list of emotions includes anger, fear, confidence, pity, envy, and indignation; he notes that the intensity of those emotions can range from simple acknowledgment of the importance of the topic, to sympathy for the views or a willingness to agree, to an impassioned response. However, emotional appeals are best created “indirectly” without explicitly alerting readers by using techniques such as describing a scene, using emotion-laden words, and appealing to the imagination with sensory, specific details (Corbett 100-103). Emotional appeals play a “vital part” in persuasion (Corbett 107). Pathetic appeals are strong in epideictic discourse when the speaker praises or blames a person.

The third appeal suggests that persuasion occurs through the speech or text “when we have proved a truth or an apparent truth by means of the persuasive arguments suitable to the case in question” (Aristotle 1356a). In rhetorical arguments, this burden of proof is not the same as with formal logic. Rather, it relies on the audience’s assessment of the reasonable and the

probable. “Logical appeals are not to logical grounds, but to reasons presented as premises, to logos as reason. ... to the substance of premises and/or presumptions ...” (Yoos 411). In rhetorical or informal argumentation, facts, data, and other forms of evidence are used as proof in addition to stated reasons. A logical appeal is an appeal to consistency and substantive reasons that are acceptable to the intended audience (Yoos 414). Logos focuses on the rational or what the reader will accept as reasonable and probable, and is an important element of forensic and deliberative discourse.

However, the strongest persuasion often derives from a combination of appeals. Eighteenth-century rhetorical scholar George Campbell argues, in *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, that persuasion has to reach both the mind (the understanding) and the heart (the will) of the audience, and that passion is required if the argument is to influence the heart or will; it is “the mover to action” (qtd. in Jasinski 422). Aristotle suggests that ethos and pathos are co-equal with logos in importance (Grimaldi 34). While appeals to understanding and logic contained in an argument may produce conviction about the effectiveness of a means to reach an end, “it is the appeal to the emotions that makes the end seem desirable” (Corbett 100). The writer must determine the best combination of appeals to ensure that the argument is convincing for the intended audience.

Appeals to the emotions of readers are considered one of the strongest and most important aspects of a successful argument, and writers may construct them in several different ways. Emotional appeals reside in word choices, examples and details used to support the argument. Many are explicitly created by the use of rhetorical figures, defined as any departure from the expected or ordinary choice of words (Fahnestock, “Aristotle” 171). Figuration or figures of speech are considered in this study of structure and arrangement because they work on the “physical level of the shape or structure of language” (Vickers 86). Figures perform an argumentative function if they bring about a change in perspective or understanding on the part of the reader (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 169). Although Aristotle mentions only a few specific examples of figures, he suggests that verbal devices can create “quick learning” or brief memorable phrases that fix themselves in a reader’s mind (Fahnestock, “Aristotle” 167). For Aristotle, figures are not stylistic ornamentation, but a means to achieve clarity. Clarity aids

comprehension and comprehension contributes to persuasiveness. By helping a writer present his argument clearly and forcefully, figures of speech also increase the credibility assigned to a writer and text. Figures are particularly effective at conveying emotional states (Vickers 92). For example, suddenly breaking off a statement can convey anger or upset, as if spoken. Linking clauses using repetition of terms can suggest an increase in intensity (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 504). A writer can emphasize or minimize the importance of items by varying sentence structures and sentence lengths. Short sentences can increase pacing, rendering the information more breath-taking, building to an emotional climax. Similarly, long, complex sentences can slow a reader to emphasize the seriousness of the information. Figures can “convey any number of emotions” and must be interpreted in the context of whatever emotion seems appropriate in the circumstance (Fahnestock, *Rhetorical* 19). Figures achieve their effect by merging form and meaning. Burke’s concept of expectation suggests that figures express a line of argument and induce an audience to participate by virtue of wanting to complete the form. By participating, the reader assents to the pattern, and this assent then transfers to the content (Burke, *Rhetoric* 58). Figures also epitomize a line of reasoning by establishing a relationship among a set of terms that constitutes the argument and that could be expressed at greater length (Fahnestock, *Rhetorical* 24). For example, the use of *chiasmus* or balanced opposites in the *Toronto Sun* editorial is reflective of the editorial’s branched argument:

“You, Stephen Harper, are not their boss.

They are yours.” [SU.21, 22]

The physical structuring of the figure as an X, in which concepts switch positions (You-Yours; Boss-They), replicates the intended cognitive transfer. This figure and its implications for argumentation will be detailed in the case study of the *Sun* editorial later in this chapter. Another figure, *asyndeton* or the elimination of connectives, as in “I came, I saw, I conquered,” implies multiple distinct objects or actions. The form delivers this meaning regardless of the actual items in the series (Fahnestock, “Aristotle” 173).

Figures are divided into two main categories – figures of speech that deal with word order, as illustrated in the previous examples, and tropes, which include metaphors that create a change in meaning. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson argue that “the essence of metaphor is

understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (5). Metaphors structure cognitive domains that aid in understanding. Lakoff and Johnson show how the conceptual metaphor, “Argument is war,” structures how people think and speak about argument: the participants are opponents, they win or lose, and they develop strategy to conduct their argument. The sample editorials incorporate a version of the “argument is war” metaphor with the terminology of election “campaign.” In this usage, the campaign is a contest or battle to determine which side will be victorious. Parties plan strategy; leaders gather their troops; candidates attack opponents. The campaign becomes a proving ground for parties who are not in power; if they wage a successful campaign, they may be elected. This metaphor permeates the election process and is reflected in the endorsement editorials. Another metaphoric use in the editorials involves the concept of progress. Lakoff and Johnson argue that spatialization metaphors, based on physical aspects of our world, provide a coherent system for viewing society (17). The concept of progress, or aiming higher, is put forth by several of the editorials as a vision that Canadians desire. This metaphorical use rests on the fundamental concepts that up is good and the future is better. “These values are deeply embedded in our culture. The future is better is a statement of the concept of progress” (Lakoff and Johnson 22). These accepted ways of viewing the world are inherent in the loci of the preferable, such as higher is better, developed by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (85-88). Figuration provides a rich resource for writers because of the emotional force (Vickers 85) it encompasses in a limited number of words or phrases. Writers can employ rhetorical figures to suggest the seriousness of an appeal or increase the emotional impact. Within the case studies, I will discuss some of the more interesting or effective uses of figuration demonstrating the strategic arrangement of words and sentences, and tropes, such as metaphors, to illustrate how they contribute to the persuasive nature of the editorials.

Forms or textual patterns need not constrain the production of texts. Scholars note that the processes of invention and arrangement are interdependent (Winterowd, *Rhetoric* 215). The parts may be rearranged without losing the original’s effectiveness (Winterowd, “Dispositio” 45). Textual forms can aid creativity by allowing a writer to add or omit as the content dictates (R. Enos 110). In a text such as an editorial that is designed to persuade an audience, “each

portion must come at a time when it can have the greatest impact” (Perelman, *Realm* 149). The order in which a writer chooses to present the various components or aspects of a text will have implications for the effectiveness of the argument, since some arguments can only be understood and accepted after others have been presented (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 494). Placing segments together can strengthen or support adjacent points or, similarly, diminish their persuasiveness. The inclusion or omission of argumentative features and the order in which they are employed form the basis of this examination of arrangement in the sample group of endorsement editorials published in the *Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, *Toronto Star*, and *Toronto Sun*.

In this study, an “endorsement editorial” is defined as one that offers discursive support for, or recommends voting for, a party or candidate during an election campaign. The converse situation, in which a newspaper uses an editorial primarily to recommend *against* a party or candidate, is termed a “dis-endorsement.” Although there is no hard and fast rule about when endorsement editorials can be published, they usually appear during the final days of an election campaign so readers will be more likely to remember them on voting day, and therefore be in a position to act on the recommendation and accomplish the persuasive purpose of the editorial.

I first briefly outline the parliamentary system as it functions at the federal level in Canada and then describe the context in which these editorials were written, outlining the predominant concerns in Canada in spring 2011. I then discuss the rhetorical concept of exigence to shed light on why these newspapers, and others, perceived a need to write and publish endorsement editorials. After defining and explaining the terminology I use to describe the sections of the arguments in the editorials, I proceed with the case studies examining how the editorials arrange and structure their arguments for maximum persuasive force.

2.1.1 Parties are Backbone of Canadian Parliamentary System

Canada is a parliamentary democracy in which the governing body is composed of representatives elected by majority vote within geographical constituencies. Canada adheres closely to the Westminster Parliamentary Model, which originated in the United Kingdom. In

this system, parties aim to win a majority of the seats available in the House of Commons. In 2011, the House was composed of 308 members, therefore requiring 155 seats for a majority.

Following a general election, the Governor General, acting as representative of the Queen, asks the leader of the party that won the largest number of seats to form a government. The process is straightforward if one party obtains a majority: it clearly takes power, and the party with the second largest number of seats is designated as the Official Opposition. If no party obtains this magic number of seats, however, the party with a plurality of seats is given the opportunity to form a government and attempt to gain (and maintain) the confidence of the House. This process can result in a minority government, in which the governing party relies on active or passive support of other parties or individual members to pass legislation and remain in power. Alternately, parties may combine to create a coalition government, which is also dependent on co-operation between the parties. In a two-party system, the divisions between government and opposition positions are relatively straightforward. But the emergence of third, fourth, and fifth parties have made for more complicated manoeuvring for power at the federal level, as will be detailed later. All parties with at least 12 members receive official status, which includes privileges for parliamentary debate, membership on committees, and financial support for operations.

The leader of the party that forms the government is first and foremost a member of parliament representing his or her constituency, but he or she also becomes prime minister through virtue of the leadership position. Unlike the United States, where a separate election is held for the president as head of government and head of state, in Canada, voters cast a ballot only for a local candidate. The overall results – which determine the governing party – then dictate who becomes prime minister. The party that forms the government directs the affairs of government but is held to account by the House, which means that it must win particular votes that are termed matters of confidence, such as financial bills or other bills which may be explicitly designated as such. If the government does not receive the support of the majority of members in attendance, it “falls” and convention dictates that the prime minister must offer his or her government’s resignation to the Governor General. In most cases, this would prompt a new election, although the Governor General also has the prerogative to ask the leader of another

party to try to command the confidence of the House.³ Control is shared with the opposition parties in a minority parliament, since they could also force an election by introducing a no-confidence vote.

Political parties are an essential component of a functioning parliamentary system. Although the party structure has evolved since Confederation, the late twentieth century witnessed a sea of change in the shape and number of Canadian parties. Until the 1993 election, the Canadian political scene was dominated by the Liberal Party and the Progressive Conservative (PC) Party, with a marginal role for the New Democratic Party (NDP). The Liberals were perceived as the “natural governing party” of the country, with temporary interruptions in power by PC governments. Of the 15 general elections between 1945 and 1988, all but six resulted in majority governments (with three of the minorities lasting less than one year). The political spectrum fragmented dramatically in 1993. That year’s election saw the near-elimination of the PCs, who were reduced to two seats, as well as the emergence of the Bloc Québécois and the Reform Party. While the Reform Party captured many seats in the West, its effect throughout much of the rest of the country was to split the votes of small-c conservatives with the PC party, helping sweep the Liberals to three consecutive majority governments. This balance shifted once again early in the new millennium, when the PCs and the Reform movement (which had transformed into the Canadian Alliance Party) merged to form the Conservative Party of Canada. The “united right” reduced the Liberals under Paul Martin to a minority government in 2004. The Conservatives managed to eke out a minority in the 2006 election, and increased their seats in 2008 while still falling short of a majority. The goal of gaining a majority presence was finally achieved in the 2011 election.

The three consecutive minority mandates in the 2000s had the effect of shifting media and public discourse on the outcome of elections. Whereas previous discussions concerned one’s desired governing party, it became necessary to also consider the preferred *degree* of power for

³ Although the maximum length of a federal parliament is constitutionally five years, sitting governments have the option of calling an election earlier. In 2006, the Conservative government passed a bill which set four-year terms and fixed election dates. Despite this legislation, a government retains the prerogative to call an earlier election, as the Conservatives did in 2008. Further, a sitting government could repeal the act.

the victorious party: “absolute power” with a majority, or more limited and accountable power with a minority. Parties are rarely elected with an absolute majority of the vote (the last time this occurred was 1984, when Brian Mulroney led the PCs to 50.03% of the popular vote at the polls). However, even though the difference between a majority and a minority may be associated with a swing of only one percent in popular vote, minority governments are seen to have been granted a more constrained mandate: “the will of the people” does not fully support their agenda. This belief is commonly upheld in the media, despite the fact each elector only votes for one candidate and MP, not for his/her desired proportion of seats among various parties which results in either a majority or minority.

On a separate note, the reconstituted Conservative Party and its resulting electoral effectiveness led to increased “strategic voting” among some supporters of other parties, who blamed vote-splitting among Liberal, NDP, and Green Party candidates for Conservative victories. In the 2008 election, Newfoundland Premier Danny Williams ran an “ABC: Anyone But Conservative” campaign to shut out the Conservatives from the province, in retaliation for changes they introduced to the Atlantic Accord on resource revenue-sharing. The *Toronto Star*, in 2011, also advocated strategic voting in ridings in which one opposition candidate stood the best chance of defeating a Conservative incumbent or candidate (“But”). The increasingly volatile Canadian political system has meant few races come down to a traditional Liberal vs. Conservative contest. This change emerged in 1993, when Reform and the Bloc gained swathes of seats at the expense of the PC Party, and held true in 2011 when the NDP nearly wiped out the Bloc in Quebec. With very little shift in popular opinion between 2006 and 2011 (as demonstrated by public opinion polls), the Conservatives put in place a strategy to identify and target individual ridings that could finally earn the party enough seats to form a majority government. Only approximately 30 ridings were expected to potentially “change hands” in 2011, a number that could make the difference between a minority and a majority mandate. Many of these were in Ontario, which is home to more than one-third of House seats; a significant number were located in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). The newspapers from which these sample editorials are drawn are located in the GTA and, as such, provide coverage from these areas that were in the eye of the political strategists.

When the dust settled on election night, although southern Ontario remained solidly Conservative, mirroring the pre-election representation, the GTA was no longer primarily Liberal; more than half the seats were filled by the NDP with the remaining ones split between Liberals and Conservatives.

2.1.2 Economic Uncertainty Looms over Election Campaign

In the spring of 2011, many journalists and political watchers initially predicted a boring election, based on opinion polls suggesting a status quo result with no movement in the popular vote or seat count. However, momentum shifted midway through the campaign. With the popularity of the New Democratic Party soaring in Quebec, the Liberals struggling across the country, and the Conservatives poised on the brink of their long-desired majority, it appeared the May 2 election could be a decisive moment in Canadian politics. The country's major newspapers weighed in on the election debate, establishing their positions about which party should have the privilege of becoming the forty-first government of Canada. They shared these views with their readers, commenting on the general election issues, endorsing candidates or parties, and, in some cases, explicitly urging readers to vote for the newspaper's preferred party. While commenting on an election is not an unusual role for newspapers in a democratic country, there was a sense that much was at stake this time. This sense of urgency – a pressing need to discuss, comment, and advise – is evident in the sample editorials that added their voices to the unfolding political drama.

Canadians were suffering from severe election fatigue. The minority Conservative government had been defeated on a procedural issue after just 29 months in office. While the defeat of a sitting government is part of the parliamentary system, it was cause for complaint by the electorate this time – voters would be going to the polls for the fourth time in seven years. Much to the surprise of many observers, the Conservative Party, under the leadership of Stephen Harper, was returned to office after May 2 with a majority government. Many political scientists and pundits interpreted these 2011 election results as an overwhelming desire for stability, a desire that stemmed from both concerns about the impact of global financial tumult on Canada's

economic recovery and from the preceding seven-year span of consecutive minority governments. This perceived desire for stability, both in economic affairs and in government, was a logical outgrowth of those years.

A principal contextual factor contributing to the desire of Canadians for stability was the global economic crisis. Throughout their tenure in government, the Conservative Party emphasized its primary focus on successful stewardship of the economy. In the aftermath of the 2008 economic crisis, the result of sub-prime mortgage defaults and derivative swaps that brought down major financial institutions in the United States and spread to countries worldwide, Canada emerged relatively unscathed. Unlike many other countries (including the United Kingdom), no Canadian banks required government bailouts. Further, unemployment rates and deficit levels were among the best of the G7 developed economies, and organizations such as the OECD maintained very positive outlooks for Canada's future (Conference Board of Canada). However, the American and European recoveries remained stagnant throughout the first half of 2011, and the very real possibility that these countries might fall back into a recession persisted. Challenges within Europe about managing debt levels in Greece, Ireland, Portugal, and Spain influenced Canadian discussions regarding Canadian government debt levels. The conversation in the U.S. surrounding its federal deficit raised questions in Canada about what an appropriate timeline for eliminating the federal deficit might be. Jean Boivin, Deputy Governor of the Bank of Canada, confirmed these political assessments of the strength of the economy:

The Canadian economy was not spared: It still faces major difficulties, and significant risks remain on the road ahead. Yet, it is also true that the country's economic prospects have improved since the crisis ... In fact, coming out of the recession, Canada is a leader among the G-7 countries.

(Speech to Montreal CFA Society)

The strength of the Canadian economy, as Boivin notes, was a source of reassurance for Canadian voters. In the midst of these events, the Conservatives argued (convincingly, as it turned out) that they were best positioned to manage the country's finances in an era of fragile economic recovery.

The fact that Canada had not had a majority government since 2004, before Liberal Prime Minister Paul Martin's administration was reduced to a minority, was another factor contributing to Canadians' overall desire for stability. The subsequent elections, in 2006 and 2008, resulted in increasingly larger, but still minority, Conservative governments. Minority governments are typically believed to be less stable than majority governments, given that the outcome of parliamentary votes is less predictable and that the government could fall at any moment. For example, minority governments face the challenge of surviving motions of confidence; the majority of the sitting MPs must vote in favour of the government to demonstrate that the government maintains the confidence of the House. Budgets and certain other government bills (typically spending-related) are automatically confidence motions; the government or an opposition party can also designate additional motions as matters of confidence. A defeat on a motion of confidence automatically leads to the dissolution of Parliament. In those instances, the Governor General must either ask another leader to try to form a government or call an election. Minority governments must also contend with opposition-controlled committees, which can amend legislation and pass resolutions condemning the government. These possible scenarios, fraught with uncertainty and deal-making, are uppermost in the minds of some editorial writers in their endorsements in this sample set. Moreover, it takes more time and sometimes protracted negotiations to get legislation passed by a minority parliament. Often, legislative endeavours need to be moderate and restrained, and that constraint can be detrimental when bolder actions are deemed necessary, an issue noted in several of the endorsement editorials. The political focus in minority situations is on the immediate short term, measured in weeks and months, rather than the years or decades needed to create better public policy or plan larger legislative initiatives. In contrast to the Martin Liberal minority, which negotiated with the opposition parties to pass legislation, the Harper Conservatives had been more likely to play chicken with their important bills, daring the opposition to prompt another election. The opposition Liberals frequently opposed the legislation, but by ensuring that enough MPs were absent at critical times, they allowed the motion to pass and thus avoided a direct confrontation wherein the government would be defeated.

During the election campaign, the Conservative Party insisted on the need for a majority government in order to follow through on their “low-tax plan for jobs and growth” (Kennedy). During a very direct moment in the English-language debate, Harper said, “I hope this time – and I’m being quite frank – I hope it is a majority. Otherwise – you look at the debate we’re having today – we’re going to be back into a fifth election in no time at all” (Campion-Smith and MacCharles). Harper’s consistent appeal for a “strong, stable, national majority Conservative government” (Chase “Majority”) corresponded well with the public’s desire for a decisive government in an era of uncertainty and turmoil.

Although the media provided extensive coverage of the Conservatives’ heavy-handed governance and campaigning style, an attribute the Liberals tried to turn into their ballot question on which they hoped voters would base their decision, their attempts seemingly failed to resonate with the electorate. The Conservatives’ assertion that only the media and the “liberal elite” were preoccupied with these issues proved more accurate. During their tenure in government, the Conservatives were heavily criticized for taking undemocratic actions. It began immediately after the 2008 election, when Harper asked the Governor General to prorogue Parliament before the opposition parties could unite to pass a motion of non-confidence and replace the Conservatives with a Liberal-led coalition. The Conservatives prorogued Parliament again in early 2010, largely to escape opposition questioning over the mistreatment of Afghan detainees. In 2011, headlines were filled with various negative stories that included International Cooperation Minister Bev Oda altering grant approval documents, an infrastructure “slush fund” related to the G8 and G20 summits, and the Government being found in contempt of Parliament for refusing to release sufficient costing documents for their omnibus crime measures. These stories highlighted flagrant abuses of core democratic institutions and principles, leading one columnist to describe it as a “year of moral bankruptcy” (Martin). Despite significant levels of critical attention by opposition parties and the media, these issues did not seem to resonate with the majority of voters.

The Conservatives also did an effective job of neutralizing fear-mongering about how they handled the consistently important election issue of health care. The Liberal Party, traditionally associated with strongly defending Canada’s public health-care system, attacked

Harper for having a “secret agenda” to destroy this bastion of Canada’s national identity in every election since 2004. Michael Ignatieff and the Liberals attempted to exploit this association to their advantage in the 2011 campaign, when they promised to maintain the six-per-cent increase in health-care transfers to the provinces. Later the same day, both the NDP and the Conservatives affirmed that they would also maintain this commitment. In doing so, the Conservatives assured there would be no discrepancy between their party and the Liberals on the degree of commitment to health care and ensured that voters would base their decisions on more abstract concepts of trust and leadership, an arena where Nanos polls showed that Harper led by a significant margin (Ibbitson). The economic and political uncertainties facing Canada provided the backdrop for the election and were important considerations for politicians, voters, and the media as the campaign unfolded in spring 2011.

2.1.3 Newspapers Respond to Perceived Exigence

Faced with the uncertain economic and political situation and the impending election, Canadian newspapers responded. The concept of exigence offers insights into the rhetorical situation facing newspapers at this time. In “The Rhetorical Situation,” Lloyd Bitzer argues that rhetorical discourse comes into existence as a response to an exigence or situation that can and should be remedied through discourse (221). Richard Vatz counters that exigences are a matter of perception and interpretation on the part of the rhetor, who makes the situation important by the act of choosing to describe it, thus creating the urgency or exigence (226–30). Other rhetorical scholars argue for an interpretation allowing for the fact that discourse can both respond to, or create, situations requiring rhetorical response (Biesecker; Consigny). This broader understanding informs this discussion of editorials, suggesting that an editorial is a response to an existing objective social context, even as it helps shape and focus the exigence and the sense of urgency through the issues it chooses to give presence to.

Bitzer describes exigence as a social, political, economic, or ethical imperfection marked by urgency, an imperfection that can only, or at least mainly, be corrected through the use of discourse (“Rhetorical” 223). In other words, the exigence “is a pressing problem in the world, something to which people must attend” (Jasinski 514). Discourse to correct the exigence must

address an audience that is “capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change” (Bitzer, “Rhetorical” 221). In other words, the audience must not only be receptive to the opinions and suggestions, but also be capable of taking some corrective action with respect to the perceived problem. An exigence, in Bitzer’s view, goes through four stages of development. First, it comes into existence and is recognized, but audience, constraints, and the resources required to address it are unclear or are not fully developed, as it is not yet the right time. In the second state, termed maturity, the exigence is present and perceived, often by both speaker and audience (Bitzer, “Rhetorical” 224; “Functional” 34–35). If the exigence is not addressed and modified, the opportunity is lost, and the third and fourth stages of deterioration and disintegration then ensue. This sense of the right or opportune time-to-act reflects the rhetorical concept of *kairos*, which I address later in this chapter.

Canadian newspaper editors in spring 2011 perceived that the social, political, and cultural context provided numerous examples of ills or imperfections. As media sources, newspapers can report on events, debates, and speeches, or write from their own independent newsgathering. But they also have access to textual forms such as the editorial that provide them an opportunity to more actively influence the discourse and stimulate change. For many newspaper editors, the exigence that prompted subsequent editorials resulted from a general desire within Canada to achieve political stability by ending the revolving door of minority governments. This exigence acquired its immediate urgency, not only because of the existing problems, but because the election provided an opportunity to take action, in the form of voting, to correct (or at least begin to correct) these issues. Based on their assessment of the social and political context, newspapers recognized an exigence that they could address. That recognition resulted in the publication of endorsement editorials in most, if not all, major dailies and other types of publications across the country. Newspapers weighed in on the issues, offering their considered opinion on the best course of action for voters, and, in some cases, offering advice for the future government.

While each editorial has a different approach, emphasizing some issues rather than others, and suggesting various solutions, the editorials as a group represent a widespread recognition of the difficulties within the country that newspapers, as opinion leaders and sources of news, could address discursively. Exigence cannot be isolated within a text since it depends on the rhetor’s

assessment of the situation and determination of the most pressing issues. Thus, exigence does not necessarily appear in a text as a discursive element, but it can be derived from clues within the text and the overall situation that led to the text's creation.

I now delineate the individual elements of an editorial that I will use in the subsequent examination of how editorials arrange these elements for persuasive effect.

2.1.4 Endorsement Editorial Elements

This examination of endorsement editorials investigates elements usually present in argumentative discourse. The following sections or segments build on those set out by Aristotle as essential to a speech, but are adapted to the argumentative strategies observed in the sample texts. Although an editorial represents an extended expression of opinion, several elements make key, but distinct, contributions to the presentation of opinions, for example, a thesis, an endorsement, and a “call-to-action.” A thesis expresses an opinion or stance, but it may also include justification or support for the viewpoint. Working in combination with the thesis are endorsement and call-to-action statements that provide a more tangible expression of the ideas expressed in the thesis. The following offers a brief explanation of the terminology I employ to define the various structural aspects of the sample texts.

Thesis: The main idea expressed in an editorial is usually encapsulated in a sentence or two, much as a thesis statement forms the central point of argument in a traditional essay. Aristotle designates the thesis, which he also terms a statement of the subject, as a necessary aspect of discourse. “A speech has two parts. You must state your case, and you must prove it” (1414b). A thesis is usually distinguishable as a discrete sentence or sentences, but it can also be merely implied, allowing the reader to develop a sense of the central viewpoint based on the argument itself.

Endorsement: The verb “endorse” is defined as declaring one’s public approval or support of something or to recommend (a product) in an advertisement (*Oxford English Dictionary*). Endorsement, as a noun, is the act of endorsing. The etymology of *endorse* traces the original

meaning as “to write on the back of [a document],” from the Latin term, *dorsum*, meaning “back.” The term has various applications in law and commerce and in the nineteenth century, *endorse* came to mean “to support (an opinion),” from which developed the concept of endorsement in advertising. These definitions provide insights into what an endorsement can mean in the context of editorials.

An editorial is a public document that enjoys the same circulation as the newspaper in which it is published, although there is no guarantee that it will be read by all readers. By the definition used in this study, an endorsement editorial declares the editorial’s support and public approval, and by extension, the newspaper’s, for a party and/or candidate. But an endorsement carried in a mass media publication also serves an advertising purpose for the candidate or party endorsed. Parties may include favourable endorsements within their advertising material, providing a secondary level of endorsement and support. This subsequent use can increase (or devalue) the importance of the original endorsement. Extending the sense of endorsement implied by “writing on the back of a document,” the endorsement statement becomes a discursive slap on the back of a candidate or nod of approval. In the analysis of the sample texts, I interpret “endorsement” as a statement in which an editorial expresses support or preference for a candidate and/or a party with respect to the coming election. The endorsement may be expressed explicitly through words such as “we endorse ...” or it may be indicated by phrases such as “they have our support” or other wording that indicates an attitude of preference. While endorsement has the accepted meaning of support or a positive reaction, there is also the possibility that an editorial may advocate *against* a party or candidate. This type of negative endorsement implies an attitude of “anyone but ____” and draws attention to its opinion because it is unusual, given the positive support usually involved. I refer to this type of negative endorsement as a “dis-endorsement.” In both endorsements and dis-endorsements, the discursive focus is on the editorial and the newspaper. The newspaper and/or editorial board are often personified using “we” or “our,” thus establishing the paper’s sense of ownership of, and responsibility for, the opinion expressed.

Call-to-action: A call-to-action is an explicit directive or command to the reader, suggesting an action such as “vote Conservative on May 2” (*Post*) or “give them ... support” (*Star* 2).

Argumentation should be considered in terms of the “action for which it paves the way or which it actually brings about” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 54). The action envisioned corresponds to Bitzer’s concept of bringing about change to alter an imperfection. The editorials in this analysis provide different suggestions regarding how a reader can implement the endorsement expressed, although the explicit details may be left to the reader’s knowledge and judgment. In a call-to-action, the focus shifts to the reader or audience, the people who “are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change” (Bitzer, “Rhetorical” 221). Call-to-action statements are often used as the ending or conclusion of an editorial (Hynds and Martin 779). By placing the call-to-action at the end of an editorial, it becomes the take-away message and remains with the reader as he or she completes the text.

Although an endorsement statement, as an explicit statement of support, could be considered a building block of an argument that culminates in a directive to readers to take a specific action, it is not a necessary element. The thesis, endorsement, and call-to-action provide a range of methods that newspapers can use singly, or in combination, to respond to the exigence they identify.

***Kairos*, or Time-to-act:** *Kairos*, as a rhetorical term, refers to “the right or opportune time to do something” (Kinneavy, “Neglected” 221). Three distinct but related concepts emerge from Kinneavy’s definition of *kairos* (Smith 52). The terminology, “the right time,” suggests appropriateness of timing – not too soon or too late. The second aspect suggests tension and conflict: a time of crisis that poses a problem for which a decision is needed at this time, echoing the urgency anticipated in exigence. However, it is the third concept that has particular application for an endorsement editorial. “The problem or crisis has brought with it a time of opportunity for accomplishing some purpose which could not be carried out at some other time” (Smith 52). This sense of opportunity is the concept that I take from the traditional discussion of *kairos* and that I apply to the endorsement editorial. Eric C. White combines the metaphors of archery and weaving to suggest that *kairos* relates to the recognition of an opening or

opportunity through which an archer's arrow must pass. The arrow must not only be aimed accurately, but with sufficient force to penetrate the opening. Similarly, in weaving, *kairos* is the "critical time" when the yarn must be drawn through the gap as the cloth is woven. White, drawing on both these concepts, argues that *kairos* is a critical time or "passing instant when an opening appears that must be driven through with force if success is to be achieved" (13). Thus, *kairos* implies a sense of the appropriate timing and action needed to seize the moment. Drawing on this, I use the concept to describe the urgency that a writer creates discursively *within* the textual confines of the editorial. In this sense, *kairos* or time-to-act reflects the writer's recognition of a "critical occasion for decision or action" (Miller 314). The actions that may be undertaken are relatively constrained. The context in which the editorials are written and published does not suggest civil disobedience or other more radical forms of action. The actions envisioned concern participating in the election: readers may choose to vote or not to vote; they may vote for only one of a limited number of candidates. In this instantiation, the *kairos* that writers seek to invoke discursively "provides both an opportunity and a requirement for taking action" (Miller 312). By incorporating this sense of *kairos* into the text, a writer reinforces his or her reason for writing the editorial as a response to an exigence or ill that urgently requires discursive action. The writer, who has recognized and responded to this exigence, in turn, passes this sense of urgency on to readers, who are the ones with the ability to take action to rectify it.

Kairos contains a strong pathetic appeal, created by its sense of urgency and tension. Aristotle often linked *kairos* with the emotions (Kinneavy, "Kairos" 72). *Kairos* or time-to-act, in the sense of an editorial, reinforces a call-to-action by providing the audience with a motivation to follow through. Aristotle suggests that *kairos* can be used to attract the notice of the audience, or, more profitably, to reawaken its attention. "Wherefore, when the right moment [kairos] comes, one must say, 'and give me your attention, for it concerns you as much as myself'" (1415b, qtd. in Kinneavy, "Kairos" 73.) *Kairos*, as a discursive element in an editorial, may be exhibited by wordings and phrases throughout texts; for this analysis, I note *kairos* only when it appears as a discrete portion of the text, that is, as an identifiable sentence or paragraph.

Evidence: In addition to the thesis, the other important element that belongs in every discourse (the other half of the speech, according to Aristotle [1414b]), focuses on the proof of the thesis. To keep terminology as clear as possible and avoid references to terms more correctly associated with argumentative strategies, I use the term “evidence,” not in the judicial sense, but to refer to facts, reasons, and other forms of information used in the text as support for the thesis, and, by corollary, the endorsement and/or call-to-action, if present. In chapter 3, I discuss in detail the argumentative strategies that are incorporated to present this evidence or proof.

Refutation: Answering and countering either explicit or anticipated objections to an argument constitutes refutation or rebuttal. These objections may relate to the thesis or to the proofs and evidence provided, but arguments that break down the opponent’s case do not have to constitute a separate division (Aristotle 1418b). However, in practice, they are usually assembled to enhance clarity. Refutation – whether of an accepted proposition, an opponent’s argument, or an unexpressed reservation – implies that what is refuted has at least some substance deserving attention and response (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 470). Therefore, refutation must be handled cautiously to avoid giving undue credence to the opposing argument. Depending on the situation, writers may choose to present their own arguments first and then refute those of the opposing side. But Aristotle cautions: if the opponent’s case has been presented and well received, “attack that first – either the whole of it, or the most important, successful, or vulnerable points in it, and thus inspire confidence in what you have to say yourself” (1418b). A discrete refutation section is not required in every argument; a writer may allow the evidence to provide any refutation implicitly, rather than explicitly counter objections.

Context: The background knowledge necessary to understand the implication of a text is termed context. Although this may include locating the text in its cultural, social or political milieu, I differentiate it from the concept of exigence discussed previously. Context describes the situational aspects in which the event or issues occur, but does not necessarily include the sense of urgency or the motivation that led to the perceived need to respond discursively. Contextual sections allow readers to understand the importance of the issues under discussion. Contextual

indications can be located throughout a text such as an editorial, but I reserve this designation for sentences or paragraphs that clearly indicate the situational factors influencing the issues under discussion.

The following list summarizes the important aspects of each definition:

Thesis: The main idea or opinion is usually explicitly expressed, but can be merely implied.

Endorsement: An explicit statement of support for a candidate and/or a party with respect to a forthcoming election. It may include wording such as “we endorse...” or other expressions that retain focus on the editorial’s opinion. **Dis-endorsement** is a negative statement of opinion, advising against a candidate and/or party.

Call-to-action: An explicit directive or command addressed to the reader to undertake some form of action such as “vote” or “give them ... support.”

***Kairos* or Time-to-act:** An indication that this is the right or opportune time to do something.

Evidence: Facts, reasons, and other forms of information that support the thesis, and, by corollary, the endorsement and call-to-action.

Refutation: Answering and countering explicit or anticipated objections.

Context: The social, political, or other background information that situates the argument.

I now examine the endorsement editorials, focusing on where these elements are placed in the editorial and how they relate to each other. After initial observations, I discuss the possible implications and effects resulting from different placements of key components. For ease of reference, the transcripts of the editorials (located in the Appendices) are coded using colour and textual elements to indicate the various sections. These segments are presented visually in a schematic representation of each argument’s arrangement and structure.

2.2 Case Studies

2.2.1 *Globe and Mail*

Priming the Reader to Vote Conservative

The *Globe*'s editorial, "Election 2011: Facing Up to Our Challenges," guides readers to find an answer to the question of who Canadians should turn to as the next leader of the nation. The editorial establishes the context, defines the problem in its thesis, and raises and refutes alternatives before presenting evidence to support its solution. *Kairos* or "time-to-act" is placed immediately before the endorsement, heightening the sense of urgency and drawing on the reader's personal investment in the argument. By invoking the emotions of readers and the ethos that it has established throughout, the editorial ensures that readers are receptive, and implicitly inclined to act upon, the *Globe*'s concluding endorsement of Harper and the Conservatives.⁴

This arrangement of a "persuasive form in the larger sense" resembles the classic, six-part dispositional pattern that Burke describes as:

...a progression of steps that begins with an exordium designed to secure the good will of one's audience, next states one's own position, then points up the nature of the dispute, then builds up one's own case at length, then refutes the claims of the adversary, and in a final peroration expands and reinforces all points in one's favor while seeking to discredit whatever had favored the adversary. (*Rhetoric* 69)

Of the editorials in the sample set, the *Globe* most closely follows this classic pattern. The exordium and the statement of position are positioned first, and the editorial then alternates between refuting alternatives and providing evidence to support its preferred candidate. In its final statements, the *Globe*, rather than recap the argument, opts to emphasize that this is the time-to-act before it endorses its preferred candidate.

Similar to the model Burke describes, the *Globe*'s opening statements serve to gain the attention of the audience. The editorial sets the context of the political situation in Canada: the

⁴ The text of each editorial is in the Appendices. The sections are coded as: Thesis – **Red Underlined**; Endorsement – **Brown Bold**; Call-to-Action – **ORANGE ITALIC CAPS**; *Kairos* or Time-to-Act – **Teal Blue Bold Italic**; Evidence – **Purple**; Refutation – **Green**; Context – **Dark Blue**.

“unremarkable and disappointing election campaign” [G.1] that is almost over. This contextual discussion, with its inclusion of emotional appeals promoting a vision of a better Canada,⁵ begins to develop reader involvement in the argument. The orientation to the social landscape points out the urgency of dealing with the “critical issues” and “challenges facing our next federal government” [G.3, 4]. With this focus on the future, this section quietly underscores the exigence to which the editorial is responding. By pointing out “the need for strong leadership in Ottawa” to address these problems, the editorial shows why this is the moment to speak and take a stand (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 497). Establishing this critical context prepares the reader for the significance of the subsequent thesis.

The *Globe* editorial’s thesis is phrased as a question – a question that is the logical consequence of, and offers a potential solution to, the problems just outlined. This thesis is set off in a separate paragraph, and, as the only single-sentence paragraph in the editorial, this structural feature draws attention. Presence can be created by physical characteristics such as white space (Walzer, Secor and Gross 54) which, in this instance, visually distances the thesis from the surrounding text. The thesis is foregrounded physically – just as its content foregrounds the argument. Posing the thesis near the beginning of the editorial signals the importance of the issue and clarifies the question that will be discussed and answered, in effect providing the subsequent structure of the editorial. Had the question been placed at the end, it would appear to raise an issue for further thought, or an issue for which the editorial does not have an answer. The thesis, placed immediately after the contextual information, becomes a pivotal point, both in the argumentative structure and in the discussion. This pressing question, raised near the beginning of the argument, becomes the prevailing thought in readers’ minds as the subsequent refutation and evidence are presented, providing a natural framework in which to interpret the new information.



⁵ The method of establishing the various appeals is discussed at length in chapter 3. In this chapter, they will be referred to as necessary to help explain the relationship of structures and their functions.

Providing support for the thesis, firstly by refuting opposing arguments, constitutes the body of the editorial. By raising and immediately discounting two possible candidates, the field is cleared so readers can consider the editorial's preferred alternative. By addressing each possible candidate in turn and beginning each paragraph with the leader's name, the editorial establishes a pattern or rhythm that mentally engages readers: Alternative One – Possible, but No; Alternative 2 – Possible, but No. Presenting these possibilities immediately after the thesis question further reinforces the urgency of determining the answer to the thesis, but it also implies that it is so obvious that these candidates are not qualified that they should be eliminated as quickly as possible. The *Globe* then breaks this rhythm by using "Only" to signal a switch in both phrasing and thought [G.16]. Following the previous pattern, the preferred candidate is named to indicate that this is the third alternative. However, this section proceeds with a different tone that provides positive support. By placing the refutation prior to the evidence that clarifies the *Globe*'s choice, the preferred candidate is presented as a choice that is demonstrably superior to the preceding examples. The sense of relief that results from finally having an acceptable alternative after both previous candidates were rejected implies that this third option is the best of the comparative sample. There is a feeling of growth or improvement that moves the argument from a negative to a more positive level.

However, the editorial then shifts rhythmically again to briefly address perceived flaws in the Conservatives' performance. Strategically nested between two sections of evidence, this refutation is moderated; it is not treated as significant and could be overlooked, given its placement and length. Acknowledging weakness in your own argument has a double-edged effect: it suggests there is some validity in the criticism, but at the same time, it enhances ethos by showing fairness and an ability to clearly assess positive and negative points. By placing this refutation early in the argument, the editorial can address and dismiss it so it is not in readers' minds as they move towards greater acceptance of the editorial's stance. This final section of evidence – similar in length to that of the context section – solidifies positive support as the editorial nears its conclusion. In this editorial, context and kairos or time-to-act are important factors, and they are arranged as bookends for the main argumentative sections. The concluding paragraph reinforces that this is an appropriate "time-to-act." The paragraph begins by echoing

the opening sentence, but this time, the “unremarkable and disappointing” election campaign is described as “vicious and vapid”[G.33]. The reason for writing the editorial is also echoed for emphasis: “If the result is ...”, which infers that “we need a confident new Parliament ...” Just as the contextual paragraphs invoke readers’ emotions with the vision of a “bigger and bolder” Canada, this kairotic paragraph appeals to readers’ emotions by imagining a reinvigorated government. The paragraphs that I identify as context and kairos represent the beginning and end points of the emotional journey that establishes a rhythm of negative refutation, followed by positive evidence, followed by negative refutation. This pattern is revived in the three sentences that present the kairotic argument that this is the opportune time to act. The first sentence focuses on negative emotions, the second acts as a turning point, and the third reprises the inspirational emotion generated by the shared vision of a better Canada. The emotive words and increased pacing in the kairotic sentences heighten the emotional impact by propelling readers towards the endorsement, where the movement is slowed in order to force readers to focus on the simple sentence structure: “Stephen Harper and the Conservatives are best positioned to guide Canada there.” By bringing readers to this emotional high at this opportune moment, readers are motivated to accept and agree with the endorsement. Placing the endorsement as the final element of the editorial – traditionally considered a place of emphasis – establishes it as the “last word,” one that is not open to further discussion. Although there is a sense of urgency, the endorsement does not provide any directive, thus stopping short of a call-to-action. This rhetorical move indicates the *Globe*’s respect for its readers and an assumption that they will know what to do. In addition, their emotional involvement is such that readers will *want* to do something to achieve the shared vision. Pointing out that the Conservatives are “best positioned” to achieve the dream is suggestion enough.

Figuration is also an important, although not predominant, aspect of the arrangement, which I will illustrate with several examples. The *Globe* uses *asyndeton*, or the elimination of connectives, to suggest that there are numerous items that the next government must deal with: “Wars in Libya and Afghanistan, climate change, Canada's role in the world, [and] the rapid and exciting change of the country's ethnic and cultural makeup - the list is great, as is the need for strong leadership in Ottawa” [G.9]. Traditional punctuation would insert the connective “and” as

indicated in the preceding sentence. However, the use of a connective creates a sense of termination, implying that the list is complete. By omitting the connective, the list implies multiple objects, and the possibility that the list could continue further. In this way, *asyndeton* increases the forcefulness of the list (Vickers 96). The interruptive dash emphasizes the final part of the sentence. The balance of this final clause: “the list is great as is the need for leadership” implies by its form that the two are of equal concern. In this way, “the form delivers the meaning” (Fahnestock, “Aristotle” 173). The accretion of terms in the list, coupled with the abrupt change at the end, creates a sense of urgency, adding to the pathetic appeal.

The *Globe* invokes the metaphor of a guide to describe the leadership role it envisions for the prime minister, another example of figuration for persuasive effect. I address this metaphoric usage in more detail in chapter 4. I would like to briefly discuss another trope, the metaphor of illness that is applied to the health-care system. The term “aging society” [G.29] is both descriptive from a demographic point of view, but also is part of the extended metaphor of illness. To describe the health-care system as “suffering from chronic spending disease” adds a touch of humor, but also a very vivid picture of a system that is slowly but surely deteriorating with little chance of a cure. The term “chronic” suggests an illness that has existed for some time, and is systemic rather than attributable to a specific cause or action. By personifying health care, the economic situation is presented in human terms to which readers can relate; readers can identify with the situation and are therefore more receptive to the viewpoint espoused (Burke, *Rhetoric* 21). Cures for chronic diseases depend on research and experimentation and the editorial completes this metaphor with the statement that Harper will push for “greater experimentation” (G.32). The use of figuration creates a strong pathetic appeal for readers that augments the logical and ethical appeals achieved by the arrangement that builds to a climax with the final endorsement statement.

Discussion

Although the *Globe* editorial employs a structure similar to a traditional essay or a classic dispositional pattern, it utilizes the elements in an innovative way to gain its audience’s adherence. The *Globe* does not present its position immediately, but uses a contextual

introduction to gain reader attention and to define the important issues that should be considered. Not only does this begin to establish the newspaper's ethos, but it emotionally engages readers by asking them to consider the vision of a bigger and bolder Canada. Quickly disqualifying any alternatives allows the *Globe* to focus reader attention on the preferred alternative, although the editorial has yet to identify this person and party. By delaying the explicit answer to the thesis until the very end, the editorial maintains a sense of tension and expectancy as it discusses the possibilities. Readers gradually and implicitly invest in the argument as the editorial presents an accumulation of positive points favouring the Conservatives. The emotional impact, which increases throughout the text, is intensified even more by the kairotic sentences, rendering a reader receptive to the forceful endorsement and implication that a reader will understand how to implement the suggestion. Invoking kairos immediately prior to the endorsement allows the editorial to increase the emotional involvement of readers and to enhance its ethos. Readers are thus primed for action: ready to accept suggestion, willing to follow the implied advice, and able to do so.

The *National Post*, however, employs a more complex and recursive arrangement as it moves readers toward the same conclusion as the *Globe*.

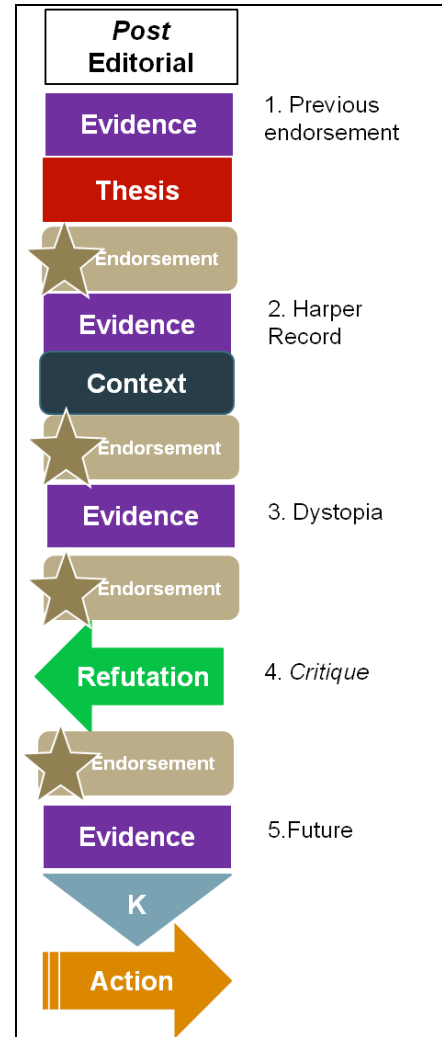
2.2.2 *National Post*

Recursive Pattern Persuades Readers

The *National Post* editorial, "Still Right for Canada: Stephen Harper's Conservatives are the Clear Choice in Uncertain Times," relies on a recursive structure of evidence and endorsement to build its case in favour of the Conservative Party. The editorial's persuasive text aims to refresh readers about the political situation and the achievements of the Conservatives. To effectively convey this message, the editorial relies on four pillars of evidence (three positive sections and one that offers critique or refutation yet still supports the Conservatives) that are combined with four endorsement statements to build a framework supporting its "clear choice" [P.7] in this election. The final evidence section combines with a kairotic statement to lead into

the concluding call-to-action. For ease of reference, I have named each of the evidence sections: 1. Previous Endorsement; 2. Harper Record; 3. Dystopia; 4. Critique (Refutation); 5. Future.⁶ The combinations of support and endorsement are located strategically throughout the text, assuring a sustained and constantly reinforced argument that culminates in a call-to-action that specifically urges readers to vote Conservative on May 2.

The editorial begins with a retrospective view by quoting a *Post* endorsement editorial written during the 2008 election campaign. While this editorial excerpt contains opinion, it is presented as fact, augmented by the statement that “Those words apply as much today as they did in 2008” [P.4]. Placing statements of facts at the beginning of an argument is effective because “facts command the largest measure of agreement” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 494). By its implied agreement regarding past election assessments, the editorial establishes a common base from which it can move readers to accept new propositions and opinions. The quoted editorial relies on appeals to logos by enumerating many reasons and actions that illustrate good governance. At the same time, this first evidence section – which I term Previous Endorsement – begins to establish the ethos of the editorial and newspaper by demonstrating that the paper is aware of, and has extensive knowledge about, the issues that are important to its readers. While this is primarily an ethical appeal, it has overtones of pathos in that it helps readers understand the importance of issues, an importance that the editorial proceeds to capitalize upon in the subsequent thesis. The description of “uncertain economic times” [P.6] encourages readers to understand the personal stake they have in the question, and



⁶ These divisions are noted on the Schematic Structure of Editorials in the Appendices and in the figure included in this text.

that their concerns align with those of the editorial. The subsequent endorsement's contrast between "intelligent, sober leadership" and "many question marks" maintains this emotional appeal. Placing the thesis beside the first, and most comprehensive, of four endorsement statements emphasizes their interdependence. The order in which elements of argument are introduced ensures that ideas are given "sufficient presence for them to serve as starting points for reflection" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 493). Further, presenting the thesis and the endorsement early in the editorial assures that they will be foremost in readers' minds during the subsequent argument. Although the main appeal is logical, pathos and ethos augment readers' receptivity to the ensuing assertions.

This pattern of evidence leading into endorsement is repeated throughout the editorial with only slight variations. The second evidence section, which I term Harper Record because it discusses Harper's accomplishments during his past term, is followed by context and then by the second endorsement. While context is essential to situate an argument, it can also add presence and prominence to the issues. This placement pattern, Evidence–Thesis–Endorsement and Evidence–Context–Endorsement, serves to connect thesis and context. Each supplements the other when they occupy similar positions linking supportive evidence and endorsement. The thesis poses the question of who can steer Canada forward [P.6], while the context emphasizes the reasons Canada needs strong leadership at this stage of its political history. As with the previous pattern, the evidence relies primarily on logos; however, this process is augmented by the pathos created from raising the specters of "separatist agitation" and "regional blackmail" [P.16, 17]. As mirror images, the editorial could have chosen to present the thesis in the second block, following the Harper Record evidence section. Context is often used near the beginning of an argument to create a common point of departure or to help orient readers. However, this would have altered the first endorsement's efficacy by transforming it into a thesis-like statement. By presenting the thesis early, the *Post* ensures that this question guides reader interpretations of evidence and refutation as they are presented. Placing the context after the thesis and endorsement have been established allows the editorial to focus reader attention on the features of the political landscape that pertain directly to the editorial's stand.

This pattern of Evidence–Endorsement differs slightly in its third iteration. This evidence section, Dystopia, paints a dire picture of the destabilization that the editorial predicts will ensue if the Conservatives do not receive a majority. The Dystopia section and the subsequent endorsement are not separated by any other element, thereby increasing the mental connection between the instability and the method of prevention. Similarly, Critique, as I designate this section of evidence that acts as refutation, is immediately followed by a fourth and final endorsement statement. This Critique section, in effect, rebukes the Conservative Party for its actions during its previous term. Although it is clearly a refutation, it mimics the established pattern and actually provides support for the Tories, who are portrayed as needing improvement, but are still more than acceptable. By inserting this refutation or Critique after support for the Tories has been well established, the editorial minimizes its effect. Readers have been conditioned to feel positively towards the Conservatives based on the strength of the evidence presented; therefore, they will not be swayed by these criticisms. Both of these blocks invoke appeals to pathos and ethos. The Dystopia section works on a premise of fear-mongering by raising the worst case scenario, while the Critique section enhances the *Post*'s ethos as fair-minded by recognition of the Conservative weaknesses. At this stage of the editorial, the pattern should be familiar to readers, who mentally anticipate that the evidence presented, whether favourable or negative, will result in an endorsement of the Tories. A reader may develop an expectation of how the argument will proceed structurally. When the form completes the expectation – by ending with a supportive statement such as an endorsement or call-to-action – the reader may transfer that sense of satisfaction with form to the content or opinion expressed (Burke, *Counter-Statement* 124). The recursive structure reinforces the *Post*'s contention that its endorsement is consistent and unwavering, further adding to a sense of the editorial's reliability and to the readers' trust in its judgment. Compressing the pattern and eliminating a middle element not only tightens the relationship between evidence and endorsement, it increases the rhythm of the text as it builds to a climax. In these latter blocks, the logos-centric arguments from the beginning have been augmented by appeals to ethos and pathos, drawing the reader further into the discussion.

By the fifth evidence section, termed Future, readers know what to expect. This section reprises the three-part structure presented near the editorial's beginning, but introduces two elements that have not been previously used: *kairos* or time-to-act and call-to-action. These new elements cause readers to pause to consider how they vary from the established pattern. The Future evidence section includes advice to the Conservatives on measures they should undertake if re-elected with a majority status. This recalls the vision of a better tomorrow from earlier in the editorial and aims to create warm, empathetic feelings among readers. This is the Canada of the future, one that readers have subscribed to, and one that the editorial implies can be realized by the Conservatives, if readers follow the editorial's advice. The newspaper shares this vision with its readers, and demonstrates its investment with the use of phrasings such as "we hope" and "we urge" [P.40, 41]. Readers sense that something is changing and are thus prepared for the kairotic or time-to-act statement that follows. This section reinforces the urgency of the deliberations, both through wording and structure. The changes are "overdue" and "stymied" [P. 43]. But it is the second, very brief phrase that explicitly encapsulates *kairos*: "The time has come ..." [P.44]. This section links the future hopes with the means to achieve them, propelling readers forward to the call-to-action. Prior sections have established the pattern, so the explicit direction to "vote Conservative on May 2" [P.44] completes the expectation of form, which can transfer to the message (Burke, *Counter-Statement* 124). In fact, the editorial has been building to this climax from the beginning. Newspaper readers view the direction as the logical completion of the pattern that has been established. Sections of support (and even refutation) are completed by an endorsement. The rhythm becomes almost hypnotic, leading readers through the argument that builds ethos and pathos in the evidence sections, and then hammers home the endorsement message. Given the mounting appeals to ethos and pathos, readers not only come to rely on the editorial as a knowledgeable and trusted source, they become personally invested in the end vision that is presented. The structure of the final sentence includes *kairos* and a call-to-action, a juxtaposition that enhances the strength of both. Readers, emotionally motivated by the editorial's viewpoint, are urged that the time is right to act. The editorial explicitly outlines what the reader must do to break this "logjam." This call-to-action comprises the editorial's final statement, giving the sense that it is not debatable. The combination of *kairos* and call-to-action

creates an appeal that is stronger than either would be if positioned separately. The time-to-act is approaching – it is on May 2.

Although the *Post* has a predominately logos-based argument, it employs figures of speech to enhance its pathetic appeal. The metaphor of the leader of the country as a captain who can “steer Canada forward” (P.6) is detailed in chapter 4. In this discussion of figures as components of arrangement, I examine a sentence that creates an emotional appeal based on exaggeration:

In other words, if the Tories do not get a majority, we could end up with a government led by quasi-separatist socialists, propped up by full-blown separatists and leavened by a rudderless Liberal party in a state of leadership flux. [P.28]

In this example, the *Post* uses several antithetical expressions to emphasize the contradictions and instability that will result with “quasi-separatists” and “full-blown separatists.” The qualification of separatist with “quasi” and “full-blown” implies that there is no clear image of a separatist. Similarly, the mixed metaphor of “leavened” coupled with “rudderless” creates an image of additional confusion. The “rudderless Liberal party” suggests that the party has no leader or captain in contrast to the descriptions of Harper as determined and steady. The fear of instability is created by an accumulation of descriptive terms termed *amplification*: “the saying of something in various ways until it increases in persuasiveness by the sheer accumulation” (Burke, *Rhetoric* 69). The use of extended figuration creates this emotional moment in an otherwise logos-based argument, ensuring that it stands out and creates a strong pathetic appeal for readers.

Discussion

Rather than keep readers in suspense about its endorsement, the *National Post* makes its unwavering support for Harper and the Conservatives clear in its endorsement editorial. Its structure relies on pillars of evidence combined with endorsement statements. One of the aims of this persuasive text is to refresh readers about the political situation, particularly the achievements of the Conservatives. The editorial does this with multiple sections of evidence that include a comprehensive survey of the political landscape, albeit from a particular

perspective. These sections of evidence (and even refutation) are designed to help readers to view the facts as the editorial does. The editorial not only enhances its own credibility as a source of knowledge, but seeks to engage its readers. When each section is completed, the editorial reinforces the main point with an endorsement; even the brief refutation section concludes with an endorsement. The argument gains strength through this repetition, and by the convergence of variations on the same theme (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 494). The recursive pattern and fulfillment of expectation create a pathetic appeal for readers. The editorial leads readers through deliberations about the kind of leader and government the country needs, ultimately sending readers off with instructions on how to vote. This recursive structure – evidence punctuated with endorsement – creates a rhythm that draws readers through the text, creating a sense of expectation and ultimately completion with the final direction. Had the editorial stopped short of this call-to-action, readers might have felt the editorial was unfinished. The constant repetition of the endorsements not only provides emphasis, but conveys the seriousness with which the *Post* approaches this subject. With this strong backing, the call-to-action is more than a directive; it becomes the only response possible.

Rather than this direct approach favored by the *National Post*, the *Toronto Star* takes an unusual approach to its endorsement, presenting readers with a sustained argument extending over two days, preparing readers emotionally for a suggestion to vote for a different party.

2.2.3 *Toronto Star* 1

Implicit Arguments Prepare Readers for Change

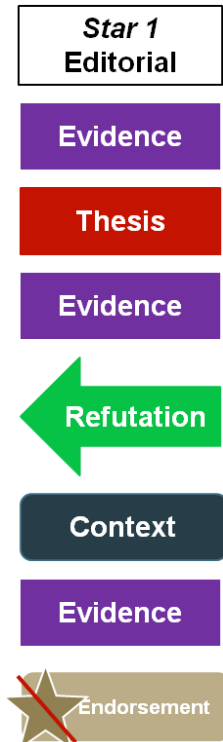
In the final days of the election campaign, the *Toronto Star* published two endorsement editorials, beginning with “The Election Choice: No New Mandate for Conservatives.” Considered as a unit, the two editorials develop a cohesive argument: the first editorial prepares readers for the second. The principle of inertia suggests that people readily embrace an existing situation or an accepted opinion; “change, on the other hand, has to be justified” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 106). Traditionally supportive of the Liberal Party (English “Opinions”), the

Star's endorsement of the New Democratic Party represented a significant shift in the *Star's* position, thus imposing the argumentative task of transferring reader support from the Liberals to the NDP. Since the *Star* would be expected to maintain support for its traditional standard-bearer, the *Star* had to justify its rejection of the Liberals, without undermining its previous and potentially future support for the party. Endorsing the NDP, which had been customarily relegated federally to third or fourth party status, posed a significant move for any major newspaper. The *Star* was faced with the task of moving readers toward new ground, working against the tendency to remain with the status quo. In this election, the NDP would ride a groundswell of popularity to emerge as the official opposition for the first time ever in Canadian federal politics. The *Star* divides its argumentative task into three stages: first, it seeks to persuade readers that the Tories do not deserve to be returned to office and, by implication, that virtually any other party would be preferable. Secondly, the *Star* moves to disengage itself and its readers from the most likely "any other party," the Liberals, by offering justification why the party no longer deserves this support. Thirdly, the *Star* seeks to convince readers to back the NDP and then to translate that support into votes. People are generally reluctant to change, and readers are no different when it comes to opinions they may hold. Changes in a newspaper's political stance may encounter resistance from readers, and *Star* editors, anticipating this argumentative challenge, choose strategies designed to move readers along slowly, gaining adherence so readers are prepared for the later arguments. The *Star* arranges its argument in stages, utilizing two editorials. This method or device of stages is appropriate when the gap between the theses the audience accepts and those the speaker or writer defends is too great to be overcome at once. The writer can reduce the gap and arrive at the same result gradually (Perelman, *Realm* 87). Each of the *Star's* editorials employs a different argumentative strategy, which is appropriate to the task at hand. The *Star's* overall strategy includes appeals to logos, but is primarily based on ethos and pathos. The *Star* establishes credibility and trust with its readers so they will entertain the positions the *Star* puts forth. At the same time, the paper aims to make

readers feel connected and invested in the argument so they will be moved to act on its recommendations, incorporating on the advice that persuasion occurs when words stir the emotions (Aristotle 1356a).

The *Star* disavows the Tories in an editorial that I term a “dis-endorsement” to signal its negative tone. The *Star* chooses a strategy that is persuasive without unnecessarily alienating any readers by directly attacking the Conservatives. The *Star* presents its argument implicitly and positions readers who are presumably guided by the *Star*’s choice and arrangement of evidence to arrive at the *Star*’s judgment that is revealed in the concluding dis-endorsement. This subtle persuasion employs an enthymemic or implicit argument, a discursive strategy that is exemplified in both argument and structure. Enthymemes omit or leave implicit premises or proofs of an argument, forcing readers to supply the missing elements; because the audience itself constructs the proofs by which it is persuaded, enthymemes provide the “strongest possible proofs” (Bitzer, “Aristotle’s” 188). The pathetic appeals and persuasive effects of the enthymeme will be detailed more completely in chapter 3. This implicit approach employed by the *Star* avoids alienating readers early in this argumentative journey as the editorial tries to reach readers who may be sympathetic to the Tories or to the Liberals. Explicit criticism can distance readers of either persuasion if they perceive it as an unjustified attack or unfounded claim. The implicitness of the argument is evident in the conclusion. Readers are advised that the Tories do not deserve a renewed mandate, but the editorial does not suggest an alternative or issue a call-to-action, instead relying on readers to consider for themselves how they will act on their new knowledge.

To prepare readers for the second half of the editorial message, the editorial conditions readers to be ready to accept change, both logically and emotionally. Persuasion must reach both the mind (the understanding) and the heart (the will) of the audience in order to inspire the person to act (Campbell, qtd. in Jasinski 422). By demonstrating that the Conservatives do not deserve a renewed mandate, as well as appealing to reader emotions, the editorial clears the field for an argument supporting either of the other parties. Although the *Star*’s editorial text employs



an implicit argumentation strategy, the interpretations of readers may be directed by the headline, “The Election Choice: No New Mandate for Conservatives.” This headline, which is ambiguous as written, is metadiscursive; it directs interpretation of the ensuing arguments. Without interrogatory punctuation, it can be interpreted as either a question or a statement. The headline implies that the editorial may argue against a renewed mandate, but the word “choice” suggests other alternatives and foreshadows the second editorial. The term “choice” also draws a reader in to the argument by subtly suggesting that the reader is the one who must make a decision since in an “election” only people, not newspapers, have a vote. Thus, the reader is initially positioned to keep an open mind and to be ready to consider multiple possibilities. The reader is being “mentally prepared” for change.

The editorial begins with an extended recounting of the Harper government’s record as evidence, a positioning that emphasizes that the subject is significant or important (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 497). Placing the government’s record as the introductory element not only gives it prominence or presence, it also allows the editorial to determine the issues it wants the reader to consider and to frame the subsequent argument. Readers, with no explicit thesis to structure their interpretation, must infer their own judgment from the succession of examples – examples strategically chosen by the *Star*. This evidence section contains some logos appeals with references to events or facts such as “two voters in three did not support them” [ST1.7]; however, the section incorporates many emotional appeals based on the argued contravention of shared democratic values and beliefs. The editorial accuses the Conservatives of “contempt for Parliament, demonizing critics, shutting down legitimate questions ...” [ST1.13], examples that are phrased to engender anger or disgust in readers. The two sections of evidence are punctuated by a thesis that provides a pivotal point in the argument: “On other issues, the Harper government has disappointed” [ST1.20]. This brief sentence contains the editorial’s general assessment of Tory performance in addition to a framework that a reader can use to interpret the evidence. The phrase, “on other issues,” functions as a structural signpost, assigning the judgment statement of disappointment to the preceding, as well as the subsequent, evidence. The thesis statement bridges or links the two evidence sections, establishing them as equal in significance; by discursively combining the two sections, the editorial increases their

persuasiveness through the accumulation of evidence. Dwelling on them longer increases their presence in the minds of the readers (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 144) while simultaneously enhancing the ethos of the *Star* by demonstrating its range of knowledge and its ability to focus on issues that are of importance to readers.

However, this thesis does not fully capture the extent or strength of the discontent that the *Star* eventually discloses. By its very imprecision, it functions as an implied thesis, in essence an enthymemic structure that forces readers to add their own details. Presenting a thesis near the beginning of a text provides an interpretive framework for readers. However, in the case of a critical judgment, this placement can also alienate readers by appearing as an unjustified attack if the editorial has not yet provided sufficient evidence to support it. Placing a thesis at the end of a lengthy evidence section would leave readers without a framework to guide their interpretation and no signposts of where the argument is going. The *Star* strategically places the enthymemic thesis at a midway point in its evidentiary accumulation. However, as readers proceed through this carefully crafted editorial, they begin to formulate an overall opinion based on the information presented, supplemented by the implicit suggestions in the headline and the non-specific thesis. The editorial provides for the possibility that the reader's thesis may be more explicit and extensive than one it might suggest. By contributing to the argument, readers persuade themselves of its validity, thereby increasing its persuasive effect. Despite the insertion of a thesis, the evidence is arranged as one complete section. Grouping evidence together, rather than interspersing it with other elements, serves to accentuate these points (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 494). The impact of the examples is greater because they build on and support one another, creating a synergy. The length of the evidence section(s), compared to the other sections, also suggests that there are a significant number of examples to support the newspaper's negative impressions of Harper's record.

Following the evidence section, the *Star* 1 editorial acknowledges a counterpoint to its condemnation of the Tories by complimenting their economic record – their “strong suit” and “main claim” to re-election [ST1.28]. As a persuasive strategy, providing praise prior to levying criticism builds ethos by implying impartiality and the ability to see both positive and negative aspects of a person or act (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 315). Acknowledging the relatively

strong economic record of the Tories enhances the editorial's credibility as an impartial observer; as a result, readers are more inclined to entertain the position subsequently presented. I have coded this as "refutation" because it acknowledges arguments that are contrary to the thesis. As I show below, this refutation seemingly praises the Tories but, in actuality, is critical because of the non-traditional argumentative structure. The editorial first lays out the case against the Tories using examples as reasons, but the claim made in this paragraph is positioned in the final sentence: the Conservatives are riding on the coattails of their Liberal predecessors [ST1.33]. This arrangement coincides with the editorial's overall strategy of implicitly making its case against the Tories. Presenting the negative judgment first would risk alienating readers who may be sympathetic to the Conservatives. By presenting the evidence first, the editorial positions readers to form their own interpretation, guided by their own developing thesis. The editorial shows, rather than tells, readers that the Tories have taken credit for the work of others. This refutation increases confidence in the *Star's* judgment and allows readers to further develop their sense of unease with the Tories as the editorial moves towards its conclusion. This reversal of traditional argument structure is also employed in the final evidence paragraph. The editorial presents examples, starting with the "expensive and counter-productive tough-on-crime agenda" [ST1.24]. But the claim or assessment of these examples is reserved until the final sentence: "It has presided over growing social and economic inequality ..." [ST1.27]. Both implicit argument structures in the text help draw readers into the argument, ensuring they remain invested in it.

Pathos, considered one of the strongest methods of persuasion, can be created by using figures of speech and by rearranging words and sentence structures to achieve a rhetorical effect. When the *Star* points out that the Conservatives had a choice to become more inclusive, it employs several devices to emphasize its opinion. The editorial uses the rhetorical figure of *anaphora* – repeating a word at the beginning of subsequent clauses (Vickers 95) – to underscore that the Conservatives made conscious decisions:

They could have accepted the fact that two voters in three did not support them. **They could have** reached out to opponents and sought genuine compromise on tough issues. **They could have** tried to unite an electorate fractured among parties and philosophies. [ST1.7, 8, 9]

Repeating the verb phrase, “They could have,” focuses reader attention on the issue of choice. This construction also illustrates amplification because it uses three examples, thereby increasing the forcefulness. The rhythm of the phrases creates an expectation that the next sentence will also begin with the phrase, “They could have,” thereby drawing readers into the persuasive act and gaining their assent to the content through the form (Burke, *Rhetoric* 58). The repetition also allows the editorial to provide examples from different areas, demonstrating the breadth of the criticism. These multiple examples illustrate *asyndeton*, a list without connectives, which implies that more reasons exist (Fahnestock, “Aristotle” 113). Amplification says something in various ways, increasing persuasiveness by the sheer accumulation (Burke, *Rhetoric* 69). This presentation of the ways Conservatives have failed is persuasive, partially because of the instances cited, but primarily because of the pathetic appeal inherent in the figuration.

A second significant use of figuration for persuasive effect occurs in the context section:

Harper is now going for broke, grasping for the majority mandate that has twice eluded him. By now it is clear what that would mean: smaller government, a diminished role for Ottawa in national affairs, and a push, if not a lurch, to the right on social issues. [ST1.34, 35]

In this excerpt, the editorial utilizes a metaphor of the campaign as a race, presenting a vivid image of Harper and the Conservatives nearing the finish line. This image of a mad dash does not coincide with the “mature, more inclusive” image of a leader that is the shared vision [ST1.3]. The metaphor implies that Harper has set principles aside, and is “grasping” for an undeserved mandate at whatever cost. Power is the elusive goal that is just out of reach – and rightly so, implies the editorial. The sentence structure, with the second predicate attached without the use of a connective such as “and,” increases the sentence’s pacing and mirrors the breathless nature of this final dash. However, it is the parallelism and *antithesis* or contrasts included in the accretion of the items in the second sentence that is particularly effective in creating this image of a small-minded government. As the list builds with the lengthy description of the actions, the intensity of emotion builds. This list has a basis in the extended metaphor of aiming high that is part of the shared vision of a good government. However, the adjectives, as the list progresses, convey a sense of contraction or smallness, rather than growth: “smaller,”

“diminished,” and “push, if not a lurch.” The final attribute, “a push, if not a lurch, to the right,” is framed as an example of narrow-mindedness. The items become longer and bigger while reinforcing the idea of smallness. This list portrays the current government as proceeding in a direction contrary to the shared goals. The contradiction inherent in the figure incorporates the idea that smaller government is good, but the Harper definition of smaller government is depicted as bad and getting worse. As the phrases accumulate, the pace increases. This accretion of examples of smallness presents a vivid contrast to the “bold vision of a better Canada” that the editorial introduces in the next sentence.

Word order is also used to emphasize the concept of choice in the kairotic statement: “But government can still be a vitally relevant part of the solution – if it wants to be” [ST1.37]. By setting off the final phrase with a dash, the structure implies that this is an example of the choices available to any government, and in particular the Harper government, with the suggestion that the Tories have chosen not to uphold this value. If the Harper government does not share their values, readers may not want to be associated with it. This technique of using dashes, rather than traditional punctuation to emphasize important points, is used often throughout the editorial.

Context is provided at the end of the editorial to stress the importance of the electoral decisions facing readers. Although importance is often established at the beginning of a text, the *Star* editorial invokes it here as a component of the heightening of emotion leading to the conclusion. The editorial does not include an explicit kairotic statement, instead, leaving the reader to infer *kairos* from the wording in this context section that conveys a sense of urgency and opportune time that further increases the argument’s momentum. This pathetic appeal is amplified in the final two evidence sentences that effectively revive the initial sense of disappointment: “The Harper Conservatives deliberately chose not to aim high. Far from growing in office, they have diminished themselves and our national politics” [ST1.39, 40]. This heightened negative emotion prepares readers for the negative dis-endorsement that is the editorial’s closing sentence. The dis-endorsement’s position gives it the importance of the final word; it is a statement that is not open to further discussion. This dis-endorsement also draws attention because of its altered construction. Instead of the traditional subject-verb arrangement,

the sentence begins with “for that alone,” a phrase referring literally to the preceding criticism that “they have diminished themselves and our national politics [ST.40]. By inferring that this is but the most damning of their misdeeds, the phrase encompasses the entire litany of ways that the Tories have disappointed. The increasingly intense emotion of dissatisfaction is embodied in the dis-endorsement’s phrasing that the Tories “do not deserve” a renewed mandate [ST1.41]. Has this assessment been placed earlier in the editorial, readers might have judged it as harsh and unfounded. However, by placing it at the end, after the accumulation of critical evidence, it appears as a logical conclusion.

The fact that the dis-endorsement stops short of issuing a call-to-action further illustrates the argument’s implicit structure. By arguing against a renewed mandate, the dis-endorsement implicitly suggests to readers that they should not vote for the Conservatives; however, readers are left to infer what they should do, forcing them to again become involved in their own persuasion. The arrangement of the argument provides cumulative proofs that allow readers to develop a growing sense of the implicit argument, preparing them to accept and agree with the final, emotion-laden dis-endorsement.

Discussion

Faced with a rhetorically complex situation, the *Star* I editorial chooses to approach its persuasive task by implicitly presenting its case that the Tories should not be returned to office. The editorial uses an enthymemic structure, omitting items such as a clearly defined thesis, “*kairos* or time-to-act,” and “call-to-action.” This strategy deftly positions readers as creators of their own persuasion, leading them through the extensive evidence and subsequent refutation, guided by the arrangement and by the implications contained in the meta-discursive headline and imprecise thesis. By developing their own interpretation of the evidence, readers become invested in the opinion that they develop and thus are more receptive to the position that the editorial reveals in its dis-endorsement. While *kairos* and call-to-action are not essential aspects of an endorsement editorial, their absence suggests that the editorial considers it premature to act, even though the election is but two days away. By not providing direction on how to implement the dis-endorsement, the *Star* 1 editorial calls on readers to devise their own solution. The

emotionally charged dis-endorsement concludes the editorial, and readers are left to ponder its implications. *Star* 1 seeks to build its ethos by providing extensive evidence and seemingly fair treatment of opposing viewpoints. This structural arrangement allows the editorial to increase its ethos with readers by showing its broad grasp of the issues, and its ability to assess the situation as an observer. At the same time, it can engage readers emotionally. By establishing common interests and viewpoints through identification, the reader becomes more receptive to accepting new ideas that the editorial might argue (Burke, *Rhetoric* 55). Thus, the reader is emotionally conditioned for the completion of the argument the following day, which is set up with the concluding preview: “Tomorrow: The alternative.”

With the reader emotionally invested in rejecting the Conservatives and receptive to change, the *Star*, in its subsequent editorial, tries to shift reader adherence from the Liberals to the New Democratic Party.

2.2.4 *Toronto Star* 2

Explicit Arguments Propose a Radical Shift

On Saturday, April 30, the *Toronto Star* published the second installment in its editorial stance. With readers mentally prepared for change after the first editorial, the *Star* chose a direct approach for the final stages in its discursive work of shifting reader adherence towards the New Democratic Party. This editorial, in contrast to the implicit nature of the previous editorial, establishes its stance at the outset. The headline, “The Election Choice: For Layton and the NDP,” offers both a preview and a thesis. This meta-discursive move provides readers with an interpretive framework within which they can consider the editorial. The form mimics that of the preceding editorial, clearly linking the two editorials. However, unlike the previous day’s headline that left the issue of “choice” open to interpretation, this headline clearly defines that the choice is “for” the NDP. Although the first editorial relied on an implicit arrangement and argumentative strategy to put readers in a receptive frame of mind, the *Star* changes tactics in this second editorial. In this editorial, the *Star* strongly endorses the NDP as the party that can

offer Canadians a better country. The strength of this support is reinforced by two explicit statements calling on readers to “give them their support” and to “look to Jack Layton and the New Democrats” on Monday [ST2.10, 44]. These calls-to-action divide the editorial into two distinct movements or phases; the first movement sets out context, thesis, evidence and then culminates in an entreaty urging readers to support the New Democratic Party. With its opinion firmly established, the editorial begins a second phase of the argument, presenting substantial evidence to support the logic of its argument; however, it also incorporates a pathetic appeal that increases in intensity as the editorial approaches its final explicit and detailed statement calling on readers to take action. Throughout the argument, the repetition of evidence sections and their arrangement at strategic intervals enhances the ethos of the editorial, an essential strategy to develop the trust readers will need to accept and act on the editorial’s new and radical stance. Repetition of the call-to-action as an element, combined with its explicit nature, further intensifies the ethical and pathetic appeals, helping the *Star 2* editorial move readers toward accepting this unusual viewpoint, but even more, to implement it by voting for the NDP.



The previous day’s dis-endorsement editorial employed an implicit argument, advising readers that the Tories do not deserve to be returned to office. The editorial does not propose an alternative, an indication that the argument is not yet finished. This second editorial completes the argument, providing the other half of the *Star*’s position. However, the *Star* editorial this time explicitly argues its stance with a lengthy thesis, significant sections of evidence and refutation, and two explicit calls-to-action. The first editorial is tasked with convincing readers that the Tories should not receive support, a stand that is consistent with the paper’s traditional position. However, this second editorial must accomplish a more rhetorically daunting task: it must convince readers not only to turn away from the Liberal Party, which has traditionally been supported by the *Star*, but also to support and vote for the NDP, a radical shift in allegiance. The different rhetorical tasks dictate diverse argumentative approaches and structures. The implicit approach of the first editorial allows readers to develop their own

disenchantment with the incumbent government, while the second employs a more direct approach to ensure that readers are aware of the endpoint so they can focus on the argument as it unfolds.

This *Star* 2 editorial introduction delineates the context of the current election, the polling predictions, and the *Star*'s opinion on what that predicted result would mean for Canada. Context, as used in this editorial, renders the audience "well disposed" to the paper's position and aims to secure its good will, attention, and interest (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 495). It stresses the "historic" or important nature of the election, as well as the editorial's concern about what is best for the country [ST2.1, 3]. This presentation of the current situation establishes editorial ethos by showing its thoughtful assessment and concern for the country. At the same time, the editorial enhances both ethos and pathos by identifying itself with readers, building common ground by demonstrating that they share the same values and beliefs in good governance (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20). By suggesting that returning the Tories to office would be "bad for the country," the context invokes the common sense and good will of readers, implying that both the editorial and readers want what is best for the country [ST2.3]. However, this is also a strong logical appeal; few, if any, readers would argue against advancements in life and lifestyle. Its early reference to "On Friday" [ST2.3] extends the editorial's context to include the previous day's argument, rhetorically linking the editorials by showing that they are two halves of a complete argument. It contextually reminds readers of the negative associations and the implicit suggestion to not support the Conservatives contained in the first editorial. By invoking its reader's knowledge of the previous editorial, the *Star* creates a group of those who "know" what that message was (Burke, *Rhetoric* 21). In so doing, the *Star* evokes a more receptive mindset and prepares readers to accept the stance taken in the subsequent thesis.

By unveiling its long and detailed thesis early, the editorial ensures that it will be on the minds of readers and shape their interpretation of evidence and refutations. The length and comprehensiveness of the thesis, with explanations and links, structurally suggests the importance of the ideas contained therein. Similarly, the syntactic arrangement contributes to a sense of importance that is explicitly emphasized with the description "important decision" [ST2.5]. The varied word order and parenthetical emphasis in the sentence, "Voters who believe

that Canada can – and should – aim higher ... ,” stresses the prescriptive idea of “should” [ST2.5] and emphasizes the vision.. The “aim higher” phrase reprises the previous editorial’s criticism that the Conservatives did not “aim high” [ST1.39]. The second sentence of the thesis again varies word order for emotional effect: “Until 10 days ago, they had only one realistic alternative to the Conservatives – the Liberal party under Michael Ignatieff” [ST2.6]. Beginning the sentence with an adverbial phrase draws attention to the concept of time, creating a sense of urgency and opportunity. The dash emphasizes the Liberal Party, as does the phrase’s placement at the end of the sentence. By setting off the one realistic alternative as an appositive, the structure echoes the content. Similarly, the final sentence incorporates an inverted sentence structure, beginning with an adverb to emphasize time and the pronoun “that” as subject to incorporate the preceding argument and link everything. Combined, these structures ensure that the thesis is clearly and forcefully presented so it remains foremost in reader minds throughout the subsequent argument. In addition to the emotional appeals in this figuration, the thesis employs pathetic appeals by invoking the vision of a bigger and better Canada and by stressing the importance of the decision voters face [ST2.5]; these emotional appeals rely on, and reinvigorate, the receptiveness to change that the first editorial created in readers. In combination, the context and thesis paragraphs ensure that readers are aware of the significance of the decisions facing them and that they become emotionally engaged at the outset of the argument that is buttressed with evidence of the NDP reinvigoration.

The subsequent placement of the call-to-action also focuses reader attention, partially because such calls are usually placed near the end of an editorial so their message can be the reader’s last, and hopefully lasting, impression (Hynds and Martin 777). The call itself increases emotional ties with readers because it is specifically addressed to “progressive voters” [ST2.10], thus appealing to basic human values of wanting to be considered progressive, rather than the alternatives, whatever they may be (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20). By invoking this concept of identification, the editorial establishes a group of voters who self-identify themselves with the *Star* and are therefore more willing to consider the argument it presents. The editorial invites readers to act as a common group (that by implication includes the *Star*) by following its suggestion that they “should give them their support.” The use of the pronouns “they” and

“them” further draws on this sense of shared experiences, suggesting that proper names are not required because readers are familiar with the argument and with the players. Readers can join the group at this point by mentally agreeing with the suggestion. As an argumentative strategy, identification functions by creating both a pathetic and an ethical appeal. The editorial’s credibility escalates owing to the shared valorization of progress and to the impression that the *Star* knows what is important in the lives of readers. At the same time, this sense of common interests creates a stronger pathetic appeal; as readers identify with this group, they become more invested in the outcome, which encourages them to pursue the argument. The placement of the call-to-action early in the editorial reinforces its pathetic appeal by stressing the urgency and importance the *Star* attaches to its recommendation to vote for the NDP; the editorial cannot, or does not want to, defer the message until the conclusion. This first section of argumentation, complete with context, thesis, evidence, and call-to-action, forms a mini-editorial in itself.

Although the *Star* could have begun the editorial with a call-to-action or a thesis, it prepares the ground by setting out the context and significance of the issues facing the country. The thesis allows the paper to disengage itself from the party it has traditionally supported – the Liberals – and then provide evidence to support the NDP, the party that the newspaper prefers in this election. This arrangement facilitates transition from the old to the new as it positions readers for the ensuing request to support the NDP. To explore one of the options “not chosen,” consider the effect if the *Star* had placed its thesis and call-to-action first, then followed up with context and evidence. Readers would have paid attention, but they might also have been so shocked or angered that they stopped reading. Readers need to be prepared mentally to receive strong opinions (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 106). In the *Star*’s case, this strong opinion is also a major shift in its traditional support; such a shift requires that it offer a significant argumentative strategy to explain and justify the new stand. In this and the preceding editorial, the *Star* shares with its readers the factors that led it to this decision: extensive evidence, assessment of alternatives, and a discussion showing that it has considered the issues that are important to readers. These moves build the ethos and credibility of the paper, which is critical when it is asking readers to adopt its new opinion.

The *Star*, by concluding this first phase of the argument with a call-to-action, provides readers with a framework within which to interpret subsequent arguments and appeals. This foreshadowing of the endpoint (as does the headline) raises an expectation in the reader, who anticipates where this argument is going. Readers who know the destination can focus upon understanding and absorbing the reasons presented, rather than being mentally distracted by considering alternatives and questioning the eventual outcome. The arguments thus appear more persuasive because they seem to converge and point toward the same outcome (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 471). Persuasion is enhanced when readers reach the anticipated conclusion – a restatement of the call-to-action; this creates a sense of satisfaction or fulfillment of expectation. Readers, satisfied with the form of the argument, transfer that acceptance from the form to the content (Burke, *Counter-Statement* 124–29). This recursive structure of argumentation culminating in a call-to-action gains credibility through the basic principle of repetition, but also by setting up and fulfilling a reader's expectations. This strategic arrangement enhances the ethos of the *Star* editorial by demonstrating the strength of its opinion, the consistency of its viewpoint, and the breadth of the supportive arguments it presents. While the recursive structure hints at the logic and reason of the argument, the strongest appeal is pathetic as readers anticipate the endpoint.

Readers have been prepared by the preceding editorial and the mini-editorial for a new direction. In this second movement, the *Star* begins with a sustained section of evidence that supports the thesis and call-to-action. The editorial emphasizes the sheer number of reasons to support the NDP by setting them out as bullet points. This textual feature draws attention because it is an unusual usage in an editorial and suggests the factual and unarguable nature of the evidence. This second phase explains the editorial's stance and persuades readers of its reasonableness. The extensive evidence provided builds the editorial's credibility as a knowledgeable observer of the political scene. This section establishes a rhythm in the argument, setting up a pattern in which evidence is followed by refutation. It also contains appeals to logos, ethos, and pathos, in various combinations. The evidence delineated is lengthy and detailed, focusing on logical arguments and reasons to support the NDP. Details are provided about the NDP's platform: its focus on seniors, health care, and the environment; no proposed personal tax

increases; a corporate tax hike to 19.5 per cent; and a balanced budget within four years [ST2.18, 19, 23, 24]. The choice of these facts and statistics points to the logic of the editorial's stand, both by the accumulation of examples and by the inherent practicality of the proposals.

The refutation sections enhance the newspaper's ethos as providing a balanced viewpoint by revealing that the paper recognizes weakness, whether on the part of the NDP or the Liberals. However, to reduce its negative effect, the refutation concerning NDP weakness is followed by a positive appeal to the reputations of past NDP leaders. Images of these iconic "pragmatists with a vision and a heart" [ST2.31] evoke an emotional response from readers. This positive depiction of previous leaders and the implication that their values have, or will be, passed down to the current NDP leadership appeals to the readers' values of "social conscience" and "fiscal responsibility" [ST2.30], among others. This emotional connection makes readers more sympathetic to the editorial's viewpoints, including the ensuing refutation of the Liberals. This repudiation of the *Star's* traditional standard-bearers is lengthy: two paragraphs present reasons why the Liberals should no longer be supported. Both invert the traditional paragraph structure of first presenting a claim and then following with evidence. The claims that the Liberals have fallen short and that they have not made a persuasive case for themselves are situated in the last sentence of each of their respective paragraphs [ST2.37, 42]. Readers are first presented with numerous examples and reasons, thereby positioning them to develop the claim themselves and to participate in the argument and in their own persuasion. This inversion of argumentative strategy is echoed in the first sentence of this refutation section: "The way this campaign has developed took everyone by surprise" [ST2.33]. Instead of writing that "Everyone is surprised by the way ... or The campaign surprised everyone ...", the editorial chooses an inverted structure, which has the effect of placing the assessment of surprise at the end, the traditional location of "new" information (Kress and Van Leeuwen 181) and of emphasis. The passive construction removes the *Star* as an active subject and places it in a position as an observer with "everyone" else. The *Star's* identification with its readers and with many other voters creates an emotional connection with the newspaper and its content. The emotional stakes are increasing for readers. The previous day, the *Star* led them to the conclusion that the Conservatives should not be returned to office. In this second editorial, the *Star's* traditional choice is also disqualified in no

uncertain terms. The Liberals are portrayed in emotional terms as a “disappointment” [ST2.34], whiners lamenting the loss of centre ground [ST2.38], and not fully cured of “cronyism and corruption” [ST2.24]. With the Conservatives and Liberals both eliminated, this depiction prepares readers to accept the only remaining choice – the NDP. By placing this refutation of the Liberals near the end, the *Star* ensures it will remain in a reader’s mind during the following call-to-action.

Throughout the editorial, the *Star* employs rhetorical figures to enhance its ethical and pathetic appeals. The colourful and forceful description of the government that is the “last thing Canada needs” [ST2.4] provides readers with a list of attributes that intensifies as it grows. “The last thing Canada needs is to affirm a government obsessed with control, dismissive of critics, and determined to further diminish the role of the state in charting a better future for the country” [ST2.4]. Amplification of this sort channels emotional expression (Vickers 105), vividly communicating a specific attitude to readers and encouraging them to adopt this judgment. The traits increase in negativity from obsession and dismissal to the final trait that is described completely and thus appears more reprehensible. This progression ending with the superlative form of bad governance emphasizes the enormity of the transgression through accumulation, creating a strong persuasive effect (Burke, *Rhetoric* 69). The emotional judgment is against the Tories, re-establishing the dis-endorsement of the previous editorial. However, the negative vision also implies the possibility of an opposite or positive state – and the implication that another party could provide it. The emotional appeal presented so intensely in this figure of speech is invoked again in the concluding call-to-action as the “crabbed, narrow vision offered by the Harper Conservatives” [ST2.44]. The *Star*’s inherent disdain for the Tories’ narrow vision and its comparison to “something greater” [ST2.44] is designed to inspire readers, via its ethical and pathetic appeals based on shared values, to seek out the solution that will provide a satisfying response to this emotional choice.

The editorial employs short sentences for emphasis and to signal turning points in the argument. The multi-sentence thesis statement concludes with “Today, that is no longer the case” [ST2.7]. By using this inverted word order to place the adverb “today” as the introductory item, both the form and the content of the sentence combine to reflect a change in direction in the

editorial's assessment of the Liberals and in its stance. Similarly, in the initial evidence supporting the NDP, the editorial mentions that they have been criticized for being "naive idealists" [ST2.11]. The following sentence, "That no longer applies" [ST2.12], emphatically rebuts the criticism by its brevity alone and implies that the statement is not open to further discussion. This sentence structure also signals an important point in the argument: the beginning of the extensive campaign of support for the NDP. This support is interrupted with a brief statement, "Questions marks remain" [ST2.27], indicating a switch to a defensive argument. Varying the sentence lengths with short, concise statements provides emphasis and increases the pace, creating a sense of urgency and importance because the writer does not take time to present the idea fully. At the same time, this type of "shaped language" provides readers with insights (Fahnestock, "Aristotle" 175). Readers realize the importance of the information that will follow and the certainty of the argumentative path that is signposted by these sentences. The penultimate use of the short sentence as signpost occurs in the lead-up to the endorsement, in the statement of *kairos* or time-to-act: "Fortunately, this time there is a real choice" [ST2.43]. The brevity of the sentence and its inverted word order emphasize its importance and contribute to the statement's urgency as it prepares readers for the editorial's final direction. At the same time, an inherent effect of short sentences like these is to heighten their emotional appeal: they engender a sense of urgency and importance that connects with readers on a basic level.

The reader's emotional involvement is augmented in the second movement sections of evidence and refutation by invoking values and beliefs. This pattern of evidence-refutation/evidence-refutation provides a back-and-forth rhythm in the text that builds momentum as the editorial nears its conclusion. Emotional appeals ensure that the reader experiences a sense of anticipation. With the emotional dismissal of the Liberals as an alternative, the momentum is intensified with the kairotic statement: "Fortunately, this time there is a real choice" [ST2.43]. Both the sentence's brevity and the words themselves serve to stress the element of timeliness and urgency. This kairotic statement fulfills the choice that has been dangled throughout the editorial and drives the reader forward to the call-to-action. The energy slows somewhat in the call-to-action, due to its lengthy sentences, multiple adjectives, and explanatory phrases. This structure not only forces readers to slow down to absorb the

information, it also emphasizes the gravity of the request. The call's essence is located in the final words: "... look to Jack Layton and the New Democrats on Monday" [ST2.44]. These words will resonate with readers as they finish the editorial. The call draws its strength not only from the emphasis it receives because it is the final element, but because it echoes the first call-to-action that was placed before readers early in the editorial. This final call-to-action provides readers with a sense of fulfillment of the expectation raised through the recursive structure and the repetition of the endorsement. At the same time, the call does not specify the act of voting, instead drawing readers into determining the course of action that will achieve this request and enhancing its persuasive value.

The increasing momentum as the editorial nears its conclusion is reflected in the growing intensity of the emotional appeals that reach a climax in the concluding words. The *Star* revives the sense of identification that it invoked in the original call-to-action by creating the group of "progressive voters" [ST2.10]. These voters are now asked to identify themselves as "Voters who believe Canada should aspire to something greater than the crabbed, narrow vision offered by the Harper Conservatives ..." [ST2.44]. By offering another, less attractive group, the editorial manoeuvres readers into joining with the *Star* in its support of the NDP (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20-23). With its final invitation that voters "should look to Jack Layton...", the editorial solidifies the sense of identification if readers agree with the conclusion. Although the *Star* has presented a strong, logical case for the NDP, in the end, readers are asked to make their choice based on their respect for the *Star* as an opinion leader and on their emotions – their desire for a better Canada.

Discussion

With this editorial, the *Toronto Star* completes its sustained argument urging readers to shift their allegiance from the Conservatives or Liberals to the New Democrats. This second endorsement editorial relies on combined appeals to logos, ethos, and pathos to convince readers to adopt its viewpoint. This endorsement presents additional challenges for the *Star* since it represents a significant departure from its traditional support. Logical appeals are used to justify the reasoning behind the switch, providing substance for the argument while also

building the ethos of the paper; if the paper is perceived as a knowledgeable source, readers will be more inclined to acquiesce to its opinion. At the same time, the editorial seeks to show readers that it is unbiased so they will trust the editorial's "balanced" view. But it is the pathetic appeal that is essential to the process of drawing the readers beyond adherence toward motivating them to act. The editorial seeks to build common ground with readers and a sense of identification by appealing to shared values and visions. The *Star 2* editorial incorporates these appeals by establishing logos and ethos at the beginning with context and evidence that help readers accept the thesis and the call-to-action. These two elements draw on emotional connections with readers. The editorial then increases these appeals with subsequent evidence and refutation sections. The alternating structure in the final phase builds momentum as the editorial reaches its conclusion. The *kairos* statement increases the intensity of emotional involvement and propels readers toward the final call-to-action. Infused with a sense of urgency, this emotional intensification motivates readers to act upon the editorial's call to support the NDP. The editorial satisfies the expectations aroused in the first editorial dis-endorsing the Conservatives. These emotional expectations were not resolved by a dis-endorsement that offered no alternative and no resolution to the ambiguous headline proclaiming – or questioning – "the election choice." The kairotic statement in the second editorial proposes the "real choice" [ST2.43] that readers have been expecting since the option was presented in the first editorial. This arousal and fulfillment is persuasive because of the pathetic appeals created.

The *Toronto Star's* decision to throw its support behind the NDP in the May 2011 election represented a significant shift in its position. This substantial transfer of its affiliation required complex but subtle argumentative strategies to avoid alienating readers while convincing them to change their vote. The *Star's* choice to set out its argument in two separate editorials is an important rhetorical move to ensure reader acceptance, given Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's insight that "some arguments can only be understood and accepted if other arguments have already been stated" (494). The two editorials function as a unit, creating a sustained argument divided into two stages. By eliminating the Conservatives as possible objects of support, the first editorial opens the argumentative field, allowing the *Star* to introduce other alternatives. Similarly, the second editorial disqualifies the Liberals from further consideration,

allowing it to focus on the *Star*'s preferred candidate. The *Star*, aware of the sensitivity of these rhetorical tasks, works to condition readers to accept change; the first editorial employs a very implicit approach, using enthymemic structures to force readers to participate in their own persuasion and become more invested in it. This implicit strategy allows the *Star* to gently acclimatize readers to the desired viewpoints, preparing the reader emotionally to be receptive to the second-day editorial. Persuasion is most effective "when the speech stirs their emotions" (Aristotle 1356a). With the reader thus mentally prepared to accept a different appraisal, the *Star* opts for a more direct and explicit approach in the second editorial, presenting evidence and logical appeals and reinforcing its stand by repeating the call-to-action and the recursive structures. Taken as a group, the editorials provide appeals employing logos; but the strongest and most persuasive rely on ethos and pathos as the paper works to convince its readers to transfer their adherence and to put that conviction into action by voting.

While the *Star* seeks to convince readers to switch allegiance, the *Toronto Sun* reinforces its traditional stance; but it takes advantage of the opportunity to deliver some advice to the incumbent Tories.

2.2.5 *Toronto Sun*

Endorsement Blends Support with Advice

The *Toronto Sun* does not shy away from endorsing Harper and the Conservatives. It takes the bold step of positioning its endorsement as the opening sentence, immediately followed by a thesis. The *Sun*'s endorsement, already signalled in the headline "Sun Backs Stephen Harper," should come as no surprise to regular readers of the newspaper but it is tempered with "caveats and conditions" [SU.1]. The thesis intensifies the support, warning that Harper needs a majority, but repeats that "warnings and serious strings" are attached [SU.2]. This mirror-image introduction foregrounds the two-pronged approach – argument with reservations – reflected in the editorial's structure. Sections of evidence are followed by refutation, echoing the conditional nature of the endorsement. Placing both the endorsement and thesis at the beginning of the editorial creates a strong introduction, based largely on the emotional appeals reflected in the

vivid word choices, the appeals to shared values, and the rhetorical figures employed. The emotional appeals become even more intense as the editorial progresses, rising to a climax in the final section of refutation. Despite the certainty of the endorsement and the detailed thesis, the *Sun* editorial does not take its endorsement to the next stage with an explicit call-to-action advising readers to support and/or vote the Tories. Nor is there a *kairos* or time-to-act statement to emphasize the urgency of decisions to support or vote for the Tories. The *Sun* positions readers to infer the necessity to act by the placement of the endorsement as the cornerstone of the editorial, and the emotional appeals that culminate in a final admonition to Harper. By forcing readers to make their own determination of the urgency and how best to respond, the *Sun* positions readers to participate in their own persuasion, ensuring that the motivation to act comes from within and making it stronger and more sustained.



As an introduction, the *Sun*'s emphatic endorsement of the Conservatives ensures that readers pay attention. Propositions can be stated at the outset of an argument if they are not shocking or unexpected and thus do not require the audience to be prepared to accept them. This initial statement provides direction for the argument and "takes possession of the ground" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 498–99). The endorsement of the Conservatives is neither shocking nor unexpected for the paper's readers; they do not, therefore, require mental conditioning to ready them to accept the *Sun*'s traditional stance. In this editorial, the early endorsement allows the *Sun* to place its support on the record and then to "take possession of the ground" by setting the argumentative strategy and determining the issues that will be addressed, such as economic performance, the size of government, taxation, and the deficit. The endorsement and thesis gain presence from this initial placement; the synergy of the juxtaposition creates a strong persuasive effect through reinforcement. The *Sun*, by attracting the reader's attention and reinforcing its stance of solid support with conditions, arranges its arguments in the remainder of the editorial to elaborate on those conditions as a means to deliver a lecture to the Tories.

Logical appeals are implicit in the underlying concern for fiscal responsibility and in the recognition of readers' concerns about the cost of everyday items such as "home heating, electricity and gas prices" [SU.17]. But the argument relies primarily on strong and extensive pathetic and ethical appeals. Emotional appeals reside in word choices and in the examples and details used to support the argument. The *Sun* uses informal diction, employing words such as "bloated," "public purse," and "cahoots" [SU.7, 8, 11]. These particular terms create a conversational tone, but many others are fashioned by using rhetorical figures, which are any departure from the expected or ordinary choice of words (Fahnestock, "Aristotle" 171). With its use of figures or the "expression of feeling in language" (Vickers 95), the *Sun* paints a vivid picture of the existing political situation while building a strong emotional basis for its argument. The following discussion addresses only a few examples of the rich array of rhetorical figures that are apparent in this editorial.

The first, and most significant, figure is the arrangement of *chiasmus* demonstrated by the endorsement and thesis. The rhetorical effects of *chiasmus* are discussed in more detail in chapter 3; for the purposes of this discussion, I focus on its effects on arrangement. *Chiasmus* can be described as "reverse parallelism" (Harris "Chiasmus"). The ideas are repeated, but in reverse order, in effect juxtaposing contrasting ideas. The structure is shaped like an X (Lanham 22; Crowley and Hawhee 298). I will reproduce the actual text to illustrate how this crisscross shape emerges:

While Sun Media today **endorses** the Conservatives in this election, it does not come unencumbered by **caveats or conditions**.

It comes, instead, with **warnings and serious strings** attached, even as it reflects our **strong belief** that Stephen Harper needs a majority to make the changes this country desperately needs. [SU.1, 2]

Presented in its basic structure, the endorsement and thesis look like this:

endorses ----- caveats or conditions
warnings and serious strings ----- strong belief

In *chiasmus*, the endorsement of the first sentence is moved to the end of the second sentence, and the caveats similarly change positions. By uniting the concepts of the endorsement and

thesis, this structure reinforces their importance and interconnectedness. But it also emphasizes the juxtaposition of ideas; the endorsement is encumbered with expectations and demands. The interdependence of the endorsement and the qualification is reflected both textually and structurally. The chiasmic structure of the endorsement and thesis also function as a meta-discourse, preparing readers for the direction of the argument. The strength of this figure of *chiasmus* rests on its ability to create, and fulfill, expectations. Form in texts, according to Burke, is “an arousing and fulfillment of desires” (*Counter-Statement* 124). *Chiasmus* positions readers to not only know what to expect, but to be able, if necessary, to supply any missing elements. Their subsequent pleasure at completing the form transfers to the content. In the course of completing the form’s textual expectations, readers persuade themselves. The emotional component of this appeal, as with most figures, makes it an extremely persuasive tool for writers.

The *Sun* editorial repeats this rhetorical structure in the editorial’s closing statements [SU.21, 22]. In this usage, the antithesis draws attention to the distinctions in the statements and to the underlying tensions:

You, Stephen Harper, are not their boss.

They are yours. [SU.21,22]

Or to again reduce this to a basic form:

You ----- their

They ----- yours

This figure shows the confrontational and oppositional relationship that the editorial establishes between Harper and the reader/taxpayer. The first instantiation of *chiasmus* positions the Conservatives in opposition to the caveats, and by extension, to the *Sun*, which imposes and polices the caveats. This second usage of the figure retains the Conservatives as a key participant, but the address is directed at Harper personally, who is positioned in opposition to the taxpayer/reader.⁷ The use of pronouns increases the pathetic appeals of this figure, providing clarity by portraying the relationships in simple terms. The brevity and truncated sentence structures combine to create an argumentative tone that becomes increasingly emotional during

⁷ These changes in relationship will be discussed further in chapters 3 and 4.

the exchange; the rhythm of the exchange lures readers, encouraging them to adopt the opinions and judgments.

The antithetical arrangement inherent in *chiasmus* is reflected in the overall structure of the editorial. Sections of positive support or evidence alternate with negative refutations of Harper or the other parties. Because figures employing *chiasmus* begin and end the editorial, the emotions invoked in the endorsement/thesis and Harper/taxpayer structures provide subtle overtones for the entire text. And while the appeal is primarily pathetic, the obvious care taken by the writer in constructing these – and other – figures stirs admiration for the effective use of language, thus enhancing the ethos of the paper. The editorial's use of metaphor to compare Michael Ignatieff to a patrician and figuration to show Jack Layton as a promoter of conflicting policies are discussed in chapter 3. The variation in sentence structure provides another example of the emotional appeals inherent in the use of figuration. The second paragraph, which provides evidence in favour of Harper, offers an effective example:

If a Harper majority is not achieved, however, we shudder at the destructive path Michael Ignatieff's Liberals or Jack Layton's NDP — alone or in cahoots — will take by refusing to address the over-sated public service, refusing to reduce taxation, and then pushing the deficit to truly unaffordable heights. [SU.11]

The length of this sentence and the complexity of its multiple clauses and phrases generate a sense of impending doom. The negative tone is foreshadowed in the introductory clause with the phrasing, “if a Harper majority is not achieved.” Readers are positioned to expect the negative messages that follow in quick succession. The *Sun* “shudders” at the “destructive” path that will include “refusing” to “reduce” taxation. These vivid and negative words and numerous examples invoke negative emotions from readers; the anticipated actions of the Liberals and the NDP are described using verbal forms to indicate that they will be conscious actions on the part of those parties: “refusing,” “refusing,” and “then pushing.” These charges are rendered more effective by repetition of the verb form, “refusing,” and then by using a similar verb form, “pushing.” The series acquires a rhythm as it progresses, increasing in intensity. The final phrase portrays the Liberals or NDP as willfully “pushing the deficit,” as if they and they alone control it. The items in the series become increasingly more damaging and serious, amplifying the idea until it

“increases in persuasiveness by sheer accumulation” (Burke, *Rhetoric* 69). By describing the potential deficit as “truly unaffordable heights,” the editorial engages in a fear-mongering tactic that evokes readers’ fears that they will be taxed beyond their ability to pay. The clarity of the images makes the threat seem real and palpable to the average reader, compared to describing it simply as a rising deficit.

Although the *Sun* qualifies its prediction with the clause, “If a Harper majority is not achieved ...,” the remainder of the sentence is presented in such firm tones that it achieves the status of a reasonable conjecture. The paper also utilizes a parenthetical interjection – setting it off with dashes – to suggest that Ignatieff and Layton are scheming to produce this economic disaster. By highlighting “alone or in cahoots,” the editorial assigns potential blame to one and/or both, while utilizing the colloquial term “cahoots” to suggest the potential or perceived illegality of a coalition between the two. The opposition parties and their leaders are vilified in this prediction that draws on the emotions of readers who are forced to become involved in the argument. The suggestion that the Liberals and the NDP are scheming to destroy the country arouses emotions of anger and fear, motivating readers to take action to prevent this threat. By stirring their emotions, the *Sun* aims to persuade readers that the Conservatives are the only hope. Figures create a lively and colourful argument in this editorial, presenting an argument that can harness the emotions of readers and persuade them to not only assent to the editorial’s viewpoint, but take action on it.

Chiasmus permeates the editorial’s structure with its recursive movement between evidence or positive pronouncements about the Tories and negative refutation. This back-and-forth argument creates a rhythm and an expectation on the part of readers, who are lulled into the positive-negative pattern. This pattern varies in its first usage with the insertion of context between evidence and refutation. This contextual paragraph focuses on the *Sun* in an ethos-building move that situates the argument in relation to the newspaper. At the same time, it clarifies the three groups considered in the editorial: Harper and the Conservatives, the readers/taxpayers, and the *Sun* newspaper/editorial. Much of the editorial is addressed to both the Conservatives and the readers: there is a clear expectation that the Conservatives are (and should be) listening. Placing the context-ethos paragraph between structures of evidence and refutation

demonstrates structurally that the *Sun* is a bridge and an arbiter of various opinions. This structurally represents the *Sun*'s self-appointed role as protector of the voter and watchdog of the government, an intermediary between the two. The paragraph implies that the *Sun* is in a position to mediate and pass judgment on issues, thus establishing it as an impartial source whose opinion can be respected. This credibility is reinforced by the following refutation paragraph that takes Harper to task, despite the fact that the editorial endorses his re-election. This pattern of evidence-refutation is repeated twice more. Each of the evidence sections supports the Conservatives, while the first refutation criticizes the two alternative candidates. Placing critiques of the alternates between positive assessments of the Conservatives makes the criticism even more condemnatory by the comparison. By spacing the evidence throughout, the editorial creates the sense that the positive evidence in favour of the Conservatives has both breadth and depth, giving it more strength than if it were assembled in one section.

Structurally, the editorial uses paragraphs in a style resembling the news story pattern of one sentence per paragraph. This textual feature further enhances both ethos and pathos on an unconscious level. The textual similarity to traditional news articles gives readers a familiar reading method incorporating short sentences and paragraphs, rather than a lengthy paragraph style that might be found in other publications. This sense of familiarity with the textual form also creates a sense of identification that is persuasive on an unconscious level, perhaps the most persuasive effect of all (Burke, "Rhetoric" 203). These feelings of familiarity and identification with the *Sun* not only enhance the editorial's ethos by transferring the credibility of the news form to the editorial, but create a pathetic appeal because readers feel a sense of familiarity and commonality with the paper. The *Sun* varies this textual style of one sentence per paragraph in the refutation section, using two sentences in each paragraph to criticize Ignatieff and Layton; the slight shift in style draws attention and implicitly suggests that there is much information to be discussed. Short three- and four-word sentences are used occasionally to signal a strong opinion that conveys the sense of ultimatum: "They had better deliver [SU.5]; "This has to end" [SU.9]. Other short sentences draw attention to their argument: "And Jack knows jack" [SU.16]. These sentences punctuate the rhythm of the editorial and attract interest because of their

difference. At the same time, they add to the emotional appeals by increasing the pace and thus the emotional intensity.

Pathos is a strong appeal in this editorial; it is partially reflected in the conversational tone with which the editorial talks to readers to create a sense of connection. Placing the endorsement and thesis early in the text helps readers acknowledge that the issue is significant and worthy of their attention. Alternating positive support with negative refutation creates an emotional seesaw that intensifies as it reaches the concluding exchange of short, sharp retorts between the editorial and Harper: “You, Stephen Harper, are not their boss. They are yours” [SU21, 22]. The juxtaposition of these emotional appeals and the increasing pace of the editorial heighten the level of pathos as the editorial reaches its climax. Although ending with support for an editorial’s stand reinforces the opinion and leaves it fresh in readers’ minds, the *Sun* chooses to end with a refutation that is addressed directly to Harper as leader of the Conservatives, but it also assumes that the readers/taxpayers are listening and cheering the *Sun* on. The “warning” foreshadowed in the thesis [SU.2] is delivered: “You, Stephen Harper, are not their boss. They are yours” [SU.21, 22]. Implicit in this exchange is the admonition: Remember who is the boss ... or else As *chiasmus* based on a common speech structure, this exchange creates an expectation among readers about how to complete it. When the editorial completes this expectation, readers are emotionally satisfied, and transfer this feeling to the editorial’s message (Burke, *Counter-Statement* 124). This penultimate threat implicitly supports the Conservatives with its assumption that they will be returned to office. But the warnings to the government enhance the *Sun*’s ethos with readers who are sitting on the sidelines. The *Sun* establishes itself as a champion of the taxpayer and, with this final threat, leaves readers feeling an affinity with the paper, as well as confidence that it has their best interests at heart. This confidence allows readers to accept the endorsement, even though there are questions about the Tories because readers know the *Sun* is watching and will keep the government honest.

Discussion

In this editorial, the *Sun* uses structure and arrangement to gain reader support for its strong endorsement of the Tories. The editorial utilizes the figure of *chiasmus* to show the

conflict inherent in its endorsement and thesis, and in the relationship it defines between Harper and voters. This figure, relying on antithesis and inversion, also provides a road map for the argumentation within the editorial – a branched argument that both supports and chastises Harper. The *Sun* uses the figure of *chiasmus* to create a strong emotional appeal that begins with the initial endorsement and thesis, and is sustained throughout the editorial, ending in the intensity of the final chiasmic exchange. The *Sun* uses a recursive structure of evidence-refutation to create a rhythm that engages readers and draws them into the argument, further reflecting the “support-but” nature of the editorial. Although there is a logical appeal in the desire for fiscal stability, the appeal is primarily pathetic as evidenced by the extensive use of figuration and the recursive structure.

2.3 Concluding Comments

In this sample of endorsement editorials, I observe several different approaches to the concept of arrangement, which I describe in relation to the placement of the main elements or structures.

The thesis, as the sentence or sentences that contain the essence of the argument, appears in different positions. For example, the thesis in both the *Globe* and *Star 2* editorials is placed in the third paragraph, after context has been established. The *Post* presents its thesis in the second paragraph, after a section of evidence. The thesis in the *Star 1* editorial is presented in the first half of the editorial, but is imprecise, forcing readers to infer the actual stance from statements in the editorial. The *Sun*’s thesis is located very early in the editorial and becomes a structuring device.

Similarly, the arrangement of proofs – including those supportive of a thesis, and those responding to anticipated or real opposition – varies from editorial to editorial. The *Globe* divides its evidence, placing it after sections of refutation and also prior to a concluding kairotic statement and endorsement. The *Star 1* editorial places its evidence at the beginning of the editorial, and keeps it as one unit, interrupted only by a short, implied thesis. *Star 2* employs a

repeating pattern of evidence and refutation, as does the *Sun*. The *Post* divides its evidence into four sections, closely linking them to endorsement s and a call-to-action.

In the three editorials that include *kairos*, it is placed immediately before the endorsement or call-to-action, suggesting that it may be effective to enhance these elements of opinion or direction, particularly when they are located at the conclusion of the editorial. Endorsements or calls-to-action are located in various places throughout the editorials. The *Globe*'s endorsement and the *Star* 1's dis-endorsement are positioned as the final word. The *Sun* editorial uses a single endorsement statement, placed as the first sentence. The *Post* includes multiple statements of endorsement, culminating in a call-to-action, while *Star* 2 does not include an endorsement statement but employs two calls-to-action, in essence creating two mini-editorials.

Although there are variations in structural arrangement and inclusion of elements, the editorials appear to consider that a thesis, evidence, context, and refutation are key elements of an argument. Given that endorsement is the purpose of these editorials, it is not surprising that endorsement (or dis-endorsement) statements are evident in all but one editorial. The *Star* 2 appears to escalate its appeal to readers by foregoing an endorsement and moving directly to the request by utilizing two calls-to-action. However, one should also consider that the *Star*'s two editorials comprise a comprehensive argumentation; therefore, the first editorial contains a dis-endorsement, which could be construed as paving the ground for the immediate requests for action in the second editorial. The *Sun*, however, reverses the anticipated order of building to an endorsement and uses this as its opening statement. While the other editorials arrange their sections to increase reader connection prior to the endorsement or call-to-action, the *Sun* assumes this adherence and calls on it from the opening statement.

The patterns of structure and arrangement vary, but there is a common effort to invoke ethos and pathos in the arguments. Although the *Globe* and *Post* arguments are grounded in logic, they also utilize ethical and pathetic appeals. Both place a kairotic statement immediately prior to their final endorsement or call-to-action, suggesting that the emotional appeal is necessary to encourage readers to take action. Similarly, the second *Star* editorial includes a kairotic statement prior to its final request for readers to vote for the NDP. The first *Star* editorial did not envision any action – at the time – from readers so there may be no perceived necessity

for a statement of *kairos*. Instead of a kairotic statement, the *Sun* relies on the strong emotional feelings that it stimulates in readers throughout the editorial and that culminate with the final chiasmic exchange.

Based on my observations in this study of a small set of editorials, arrangement, rather than being structured and formulaic, is a flexible process that allows writers to position elements of the argument to achieve their desired persuasive purpose.

Although a writer's decisions about which elements to include, and where to locate them, have significant effects on the resultant persuasive effect, within these elements the writer also has available a selection of argumentative strategies and techniques, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Argumentation

Editorial texts perform a unique role in a daily newspaper. Rather than seeking to present an “objective” and factual account of events, the editorial foregrounds opinions and judgments. These opinions, however, are not necessarily only those of the editor or the writer, but represent the viewpoint of the newspaper as an institution (Hynds and Martin 776; Meltzer 85). An editorial puts issues on the public agenda by giving them presence in an editorial, but it also seeks to persuade readers of the reasonableness of these opinions.

As the institutionalized voice of the newspaper, editorials focus on varied issues. The editorials in this sample set, published prior to the May 2011 federal election in Canada, provide each newspaper’s commentary regarding the political situation as the election campaign nears its conclusion. By writing about the election and its ramifications, the editorials induce readers to consider the issues. Moreover, they strive to guide that consideration and, ultimately, to influence public opinion about the issues. As persuasive texts, editorials contain a “written discourse that combines a great number of arguments with the aim of winning the adherence of an audience to one or more theses” (Perelman, “Theory” 1400). The theses presented in election-related editorials can range from the very general “Be sure to vote” to the very specific “Vote for X Party.” Newspapers often publish pre-election editorials promoting a specific party and/or leader, whether the election is at the federal, provincial, or local level. Their explicit purpose is to encourage readers to subscribe to the newspaper’s view favouring a particular leader or party, but also to move readers to put that belief into action by voting for the preferred candidate.

The editorials in this sample set utilize various argumentation strategies to persuade their readers, providing “deliberation and discussion” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 512) of the election campaign and of the implications for Canada’s future political landscape. Argumentation presupposes a meeting of minds: “the will on the part of the orator to persuade and not to compel or command, and a disposition on the part of the audience to listen” (Perelman, “Theory” 1391). That disposition to “listen” can be construed from the actions of

newspaper readers who make a conscious effort to purchase a print newspaper or navigate to a website, thus indicating a mindset that is, to some extent, receptive to the opinions presented. Whether the text is ultimately persuasive depends on the strength of a reader's good will and respect for the editorial and/or newspaper and whether the reader finds the basic assumptions acceptable and well argued. The argumentative strategies used by the editorial may vary, depending on the content and the intent.

This chapter examines the five endorsement editorials to establish the argumentative strategies they employ to persuade readers and the manner in which the editorials support their claims and opinions. The analysis is predominantly informed by the work of these scholars – Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, Stephen Toulmin, and Kenneth Burke – and by examining the use of the enthymeme, a construct identified by Aristotle; I briefly outline each of their contributions below. While the work of these scholars constitutes the major theoretical basis of this examination, I draw on other rhetorical and argumentation resources as well as I proceed to delineate the structures and arguments evident in the editorials and to determine how these texts achieve, or fail to achieve, a rhetorical or persuasive effect.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

The paradigm described by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca in *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* provides insights into the overall strategies and methods of persuasion that can be used in argumentation, either singly or in combination, to garner adherence from readers. However, in addition to describing the broad argumentation frameworks evident in the editorials, I examine the texts to determine how claims are specifically made and supported. Toulmin, in *The Uses of Argument*, outlines a vocabulary that I find useful for discussing how arguments are constructed. Argumentation has been described as a “study of the way people take up standpoints and defend them” (Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Henkermans 6). It is a social activity relating a particular opinion to a specific subject that is generally directed toward at least one other person; its aim is to increase (or decrease) the acceptability of a controversial standpoint among listeners or readers, and it is intended to justify one's standpoint or to refute someone else's (Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Henkermans 2-5). An argument

typically consists of a conclusion or point about which there could be controversy, a set of assumptions or premises upon which the conclusion is based, and a method of reasoning (arguing) that connects the conclusion with the assumptions.

Argumentation, which incorporates a number of various current theories, is rooted in ancient rhetoric, particularly the rhetorical art of civic discourse and Aristotle's foundational contributions to that field. Described as the "art of persuasive speaking" (Bizzell and Herzberg 3), rhetoric provides a framework that informs the study of persuasive texts such as newspaper editorials. Aristotle "reduced the concerns of rhetoric to a system that [has since] served as its touchstone" (Bizzell and Herzberg 2). Aristotle's *Rhetoric* not only provides the foundation for subsequent rhetorical theory, it informs current deliberations on practice and theory (Gross and Walzer ix,x). Aristotle defines rhetoric as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" [1356a]. He further identifies these modes of persuasion as ethos – the personal character of the speaker and the audience's assessment of his (or her) credibility; pathos – the power to stir the listeners' emotions; and logos – the ability to prove a truth, or an apparent truth, by means of persuasive argument (1356a). Ethos relies on building common ground with readers, often by invoking shared beliefs and values. By demonstrating its trustworthiness as a source of information, an editorial captures the attention and sympathies of readers, thus encouraging them to entertain the position argued. Similarly, pathos draws on shared values to help establish a personal connection between reader and message. By engaging the reader's emotions, whether sympathy, anger, joy, or disappointment, as appropriate, the writer helps readers connect with the subject matter so they are moved to act on the message. Logos relies on such aspects as facts, premises, and reasons to create an internal consistency so that a position appears reasonable and probable to a reader. Although Aristotle defines these as three separate appeals, in practice (and as demonstrated in the case studies), they invariably overlap, supplementing each other to create a persuasive argument. Aristotle recognizes that reason alone "does not possess the power of persuasion," but that a person addresses another "not only with the mind but with the emotions and feelings, as well" (Grimaldi 26). Although Aristotle was primarily concerned with the spoken word, his concepts have since been applied to written communication.

Aristotle further identifies three types or genres of oratory – deliberative or political, forensic or judicial, and epideictic or ceremonial – reflective of the circumstances in which they occur and their intended purpose. Deliberative or political rhetoric urges the audience either to do or refrain from something; the issues under discussion are those expected to arise at some point in the future. Aristotle notes that the political orator can offer counsel, but only on matters about which people deliberate. These, he clarifies, are matters that ultimately depend on ourselves, and which we have it in our power to set going, things that may or may not take place (1359a). Aristotle notes there are five main matters on which all men deliberate and on which political speakers make speeches: ways and means, war and peace, national defence, imports and exports, and legislation (1359b). Deliberative rhetoric is concerned with determining whether a course of action or a policy is useful or harmful, or expedient or inexpedient (Jasinski 160). Deliberative discourse has a strong element of self-interest: “In a political debate the man who is forming a judgment is making a decision about his own vital interests” (Aristotle 1354b). As the name implies, deliberative discourse is thus particularly relevant to the political sphere in which politicians, citizens, and media, in various combinations, deliberate about issues such as the desired attributes of programs or the nation, and the best course of action to achieve the desired end.

Forensic or judicial rhetoric passes judgment on past actions, just as a judicial proceeding is designed to determine the justness or legality of an accused’s activities. Aristotle notes that the wrongs a man does to others will correspond to the bad quality or qualities that he himself possesses (1368b). Forensic rhetoric is therefore concerned primarily with the past: “One man accuses the other, and the other defends himself, with reference to things already done” (Aristotle 1358b). Actions or events are analysed to determine their appropriateness and to assign responsibility. As with deliberative rhetoric, the audience assumes the role of evaluating the information presented – of deciding whether or not to accept the advice or judgments offered. Epideictic or ceremonial oratory praises or censures someone. Epideictic rhetoric is, therefore, concerned with the present, “since all men praise or blame in view of the state of things existing at the time, though they often find it useful also to recall the past and to make guesses at the future” (Aristotle 1358b). The audience is accorded the role of observer with the task of

determining the honorable and the shameful; epideictic discourse therefore also serves to promote certain values over others. Epideictic rhetoric has significance for argumentation because it “strengthens the disposition toward action by increasing adherence to the values it lauds” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 50). Therefore, epideictic rhetoric, rather than simply adding stylistic or ceremonial flourishes, can be a key component of persuasion. Further, Aristotle suggests that a speech can contain elements of all three forms or genres.

Aristotle’s considerations of rhetoric are particularly applicable to the texts studied. Political or deliberative rhetoric might appear to best describe these texts, given that the editorials are written to offer opinion and analysis, and to help chart a course of action. This sample of editorials focuses on an election, a key part of the civic discourse of any community. They are concerned with offering advice in the form of an indication of which candidate or party the newspaper supports; some editorials go further by encouraging readers to vote for a particular candidate or party. However, in order to build a persuasive case, the editorial must present evidence or proofs, many of which refer to past actions and seek to establish the “justice or injustice” attached to those acts (Aristotle 1358b). Past actions are reviewed to support predictions about future actions. At the same time, these editorials focus on choosing the best person or party to achieve stated goals, which incorporates the epideictic elements of praise or blame directed at the candidates and/or their actions. According to Aristotle, logic is concerned with reasoning to reach scientific certainty, whereas rhetoric, with its concern for probability, is a tool for practical debate. It is a way to persuade a general audience using probable knowledge to solve everyday issues. Aristotle’s concepts are often used to analyse persuasive texts; argumentation theorists such as Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca, and Toulmin have developed models and schemata that help to clarify and describe how these rhetorical constructs function in everyday texts.

Toulmin, by his own description, set out to dispute the assumption that “any significant argument can be put in formal terms ... a rigidly demonstrative deduction” (vii). In *The Uses of Argument*, he proposes a model or framework of components for analysing arguments. The following are the main terms of his paradigm that I find useful in the course of my analysis:

- Claims are, in fact, conclusions of judgment or value whose validity must be established. They may deal with opinions, attitudes, or policy.
- Grounds provide the facts or reasons used to persuade someone of the validity of the claim. Potential grounds cited by Toulmin include data, statistics, physical proof, credibility of the source, and stated reasons. Later theorists have clarified that any statement that “will be accepted unquestionably by the majority of audience members” can function as grounds (Jasinski 27).
- Warrants are statements that allow a reader to see the connection in reasoning between the grounds and the claim. This link is usually implicit, relying on the listener to recognize and accept the connection. There may be multiple warrants underlying a claim and the related grounds; these may render the argumentation susceptible to possible misunderstanding, but they also allow readers or listeners to construct the message in a manner that has particular meaning to them.

These three aspects are considered essential components of every argumentative structure. However, Toulmin also defines other elements that may, or may not, be present in argumentation:

- *Backing* provides additional support to the warrant when it is not sufficient to convince readers or listeners. These supports may involve such things as legal references or other information similar to that deemed appropriate as grounds.
- *Rebuttal* involves proactively providing statements that answer either real or anticipated objections to the argument presented. Although Toulmin seems to imply that rebuttal focuses on the circumstances in which the claim would not apply, using an “unless” form of statement, I have more broadly interpreted it to consider a refutation of arguments against any aspects of the claim.
- *Qualifier* refers to words or phrases that indicate the certainty of the speaker or writer’s support of the claim. Words that suggest this differing force of argument include possible, probably, certainly, and so on.

While these categories may seem relatively clear, in practice, distinguishing between grounds and warrants can be difficult. Toulmin uses the term “data” to indicate specific factual

information. However, the interpretation of what constitutes valid data has been expanded based on his assertion that stated reasons can also be relied upon to support an argument. To incorporate this broader concept, the term “grounds” has come into general use, a custom I adopted in the preceding summary. Toulmin admits that it may sometimes be difficult to differentiate between data and warrants since the factual information usually relied on as grounds may be assumed to be known by both parties and thus can remain unspoken or implicit, one of the distinguishing features of the warrant (Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Henkermans 158). This distinction can be further exacerbated by the use of enthymemic structures. Despite this perceived lack of clarity, Toulmin’s model focuses attention on the thought processes inherent in an argument. Most theorists focus on the content, rather than its implicit or explicit nature, to differentiate the two terms, considering data or grounds as factual and specific information, while warrants are believed to be general, rule-like statements (Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Henkermans 159).

Toulmin, a philosopher, originally intended his model of argumentation to be used to analyse the rationality of legal argumentation as practised in courtrooms, but his ideas were soon taken up by rhetoricians and communication theorists. Wayne Brockriede and Douglas Ehninger applied the Toulmin model in a system for classifying argumentation that relies on the types of warrant used. Toulmin’s model has “had a strong impact on practical textbooks dealing with the analysis of – single and complex – argumentation,” partially because it draws attention to the important argument schemes and allows an analyst to “give a transparent picture of complex argumentation structures” (Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Henkermans 159–60). Toulmin’s book, first published in 1958, has never been out of print; the most recent, updated edition was published in 2003. As David Hitchcock and Bart Verheij note in the introduction to a special edition of the journal *Argumentation*, “[Toulmin’s work] has influenced, and continues to influence, researchers in speech communication and philosophy, and also in artificial intelligence, cognitive psychology and application domains such as law and medicine.” The citation record alone places Toulmin in the top ten among philosophers of science and philosophical logicians of the twentieth century (255–56).

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca provide important resources for understanding the nuances of argumentative strategy. They focus on the “discursive techniques that allow us to produce or to increase the mind’s adherence” to the claim presented (4). In their study of how people reason about values, they turned to rhetoric, “the study of good reasons – of persuasion, of logos, of the reasonable and the preferable – and set out to ‘revive’ rhetoric” (Bizzell and Herzberg 1372–73). *The New Rhetoric – A Treatise on Argumentation*, the title of their comprehensive classification of discursive techniques and argument schemes, examines framework, starting points, and techniques of argumentation. Their theory of non-formal argumentation was an attempt to “show how choices and decisions ... can be justified on rational grounds” (Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Henkermans 95). They contend that their theory of argumentation complements, rather than replaces, formal logic. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s work has been criticized for poorly defining some categories and because there is a substantive lack of clear examples and too little insight into the relations between sections. It has been argued that this results in a lack of clarity such that argumentation schemes are not mutually exclusive; an argument could be classified as being both quasi-logical and as being based on the structure of reality (Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Henkermans 121–23). But Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca readily note their awareness that the classifications are not absolute. A statement that others might describe as argument by association or by comparison could, using their guidelines, be considered either quasi-logical (what is true for the whole is true for the part), or an analogy, or based on relations of co-existence (192). More recently, scholars have suggested that Perelman and Olbrechts-Tytecas’s argument structures can, in fact, be consistently categorized and coded (Warnick and Kline 13). Their insights have influenced many scholars and been applied profitably in many areas such as philosophy (Dearin), law (Golden and Pilotta; Perelman, *The Idea of Justice*) and speech communication (Schuetz).

Owing to the inherent difficulty of summarizing their lengthy and detailed text, I instead highlight some of the basic understandings and concepts that are used in the subsequent analysis. Because the purpose of argument is always to win the adherence of the audience, rather than to prove the truth of propositions, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca emphasize that arguments must always be addressed to an audience, whether this audience is defined as a particular group or as a

“universal” or ideal audience mentally constructed by the orator or writer. Non-formal argument, in Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s view, does not consist of assembling a chain of ideas following a prescribed methodology, as it would within the realm of formal logic, but rather of a “web formed from all the arguments and all the reasons that combine to achieve the desired result ... [which is] to bring the audience to the conclusions offered by the orator” (Perelman, “Theory” 1396). To achieve this acceptance, the orator begins with concepts and ideas already accepted by the audience. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca define the starting points of argumentation as the facts, presumptions, and values that a reader will “naturally” or “automatically” agree with. In addition, they detail concepts that readers generally find “preferable” – values and hierarchies such as the loci of quantity that holds that a greater number of good things is preferable to a smaller number (85) or the loci of quality that values the unique over the commonplace (89). The argumentative process then consists of “establishing a link by which acceptance, or adherence is passed from one element to another” (Perelman, “Theory” 1396). This transfer of acceptance from the established values and preferences to the desired conclusion is achieved through basic association; the end can be reached either by leaving the various elements of the discourse unchanged and associated as they are, or by outlining a dissociation of ideas (Perelman, “Theory” 1396).

Within the category they refer to as techniques of argumentation, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca identify three classes of associative arguments: quasi-logical, those based on the structure of the real, and those seeking to establish the real. Quasi-logical arguments derive their persuasive strength from their similarity to the formal structures of logic and mathematics (Perelman, “Theory” 1396), and they can be based on establishing links between ideas and/or objects through techniques such as contradiction, definition, division into parts, probability, or comparison. Another type of argument is based on the observed structure of reality, employing such concepts as succession (in which causes always produce effects) or liaisons of coexistence (such as the relationship between a person and his or her acts), which includes arguments relying on authority (Perelman, *Realm* 81–94). Other argumentative techniques seek to establish the structure of reality by invoking the applicable rules or principles through example, illustration, or modelling, as well as analogy or metaphor. These various techniques justify claims rationally,

not to prove them logical or valid, but rather, to show that they can be judged to be reasonable by the audience or readers. By establishing associations with concepts drawing on the observed and accepted structure of the world, a writer can move the audience towards adherence using these techniques. However, the converse is also a valid argumentative tactic designed to remove incompatibilities or judge value by opposing philosophical pairs such as appearance/reality or “real” versus “quasi-democracy” (Perelman, “Theory” 1400.) The work of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca and Toulmin has generated extensive scholarly attention, including special issues of *Argumentation*. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s theories have been utilized in a wide range of areas, such as Elizabethan theatre (Noe), in newspaper articles and advertisements (Kienpointner), and to analyse the public oratory in the Earl of Spencer’s funeral tribute, “Address to Diana” (Walzer, Secor, and Gross). Yet their work “remains stubbornly unfashionable,” according to Alan Gross, perhaps due to its prose that results from its translation from the original French. However, Gross suggests that *The New Rhetoric* represents a theoretical advance at least as dramatic as was Aristotle’s over the handbooks that preceded him (Walzer, Secor, and Gross 53). Despite its density and dated prose, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s comprehensive work continues to inform rhetorical theory today, laying the groundwork for modern studies.

Burke, another rhetorician of note in the twentieth century, offers insights into rhetoric and its persuasive functions in *A Rhetoric of Motives*, the second of a planned trilogy on language. He posits that rhetoric is “the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human agents” (*Rhetoric* 41). The importance of language lies in its function as “a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols” (*Rhetoric* 43). Burke’s concept of rhetoric is compatible with traditional definitions, but he adds key concepts that help describe and explain how rhetoric functions. In dealing with strategies of persuasion, he develops “identification” as a key term to explain how people are persuaded to change a viewpoint or take an action. Burke suggests that individuals define themselves on the basis of properties or substances, such as their occupations, friends, beliefs, or values. Individuals recognize that they share these beliefs, values, interests, or other aspects with other individuals; they are “consubstantial” by virtue of this shared value, belief, or substance

(*Rhetoric* 20–23). Burke uses the terms “consubstantial” and “identification” interchangeably to convey the idea that a person recognizes a commonality with other individuals or groups.

For Burke, persuasion results from identification. “You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your ways with his” (*Rhetoric* 55, emphasis in original). When people feel a sense of sameness or identification with a writer, they are more receptive to the viewpoints espoused. Identification persuades in several ways. The first, and most obvious, occurs by simply recognizing and drawing attention to the aspects of commonality and identification (*Rhetoric* 21). For example, if readers believe that a text reflects the same values they hold, they will feel a sense of belonging and be more inclined to accept what the text says. The second type of identification reflects an inverse situation – identification by recognizing differences with some other group, or a “them-versus-us” dichotomy (*Rhetoric* 20). This form of identification is at the root of scapegoating; it unites readers against a common enemy or “other.” Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca address a similar situation with their concept of dissociation that points out differences to distinguish one case from another. When individuals create identifications of which they are unaware, they are experiencing a third, and perhaps more powerful, form of identification, one that Burke refers to as unconscious persuasion because it is not recognized (“Rhetoric – Old and New” 204). This can occur through the use of words or images that allow a reader to subconsciously form an association or identification.

Burke’s focus on the inseparability of form and content creates still another form of persuasion based on the concept of expectation. Burke defines forms as “an arousing and fulfillment of desires” (*Counter-Statement* 124). One part of a text leads readers to anticipate a subsequent part; they are then gratified when the sequence is completed. This explains the sense of satisfaction that ensues when a mystery novel ends with an identified culprit, as well as the dissatisfaction that would result if the crime remained unsolved. This principle of satisfaction with completion applies in situations such as a sonnet-like textual pattern, repetition in a list or rhetorical figure, or the progressive stages of the argumentative structure of a syllogism (*Counter-Statement* 124). The completion of the form or pattern creates a sense of satisfaction or fulfillment of expectation in readers, who then transfer the attitude of assent from the form to the

content of the argument. This sense of completion may only become apparent after the fact when readers realize that it was the correct decision (*Counter-Statement* 124–29). Emotional appeals are important aspects of Burke’s concepts of identification and consubstantiality. Identification, by creating a sense of shared values between writer and reader, achieves both a pathetic and an ethical appeal. The speaker who creates an “identification of interests to establish rapport between himself and his audience” (*Rhetoric* 46) enhances his credibility and the receptivity of his readers. But this identification of interests also serves as a pathetic appeal, helping readers connect emotionally with the subject matter, again becoming more amenable to persuasion.

The feature I found most useful among the many important contributions Toulmin, Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca, and Burke delineate so effectively, and one of the principal reasons I rely so heavily upon their respective models, is their general applicability to arguments used in everyday situations, whether in public or private debates, the classroom, or the media. Toulmin, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, and Burke together provide a comprehensive vocabulary with which to describe and investigate argumentation. Although Toulmin presumes to focus on logical appeals, his model also accounts for pathos and ethos by its consideration of the shared values and beliefs underlying warrants. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca similarly offer a framework for investigating and describing logical appeals. However, they also base argument on common grounds incorporating beliefs and values. In their work, they discuss passion and emotion, and note the importance of influencing the “disposition of the audience” to make it “well disposed toward the speaker and to secure its goodwill, attention and interest” (495). Burke focuses his understanding of persuasion from the perspectives of ethos and pathos, as previously discussed. For Burke, these are primary means of persuasion, as he suggests with his concepts of identification and expectation. Each of the theorists, therefore, considers pathos and ethos as important, if not critical, aspects of successful argumentation. These theorists provide complementary perspectives that I will use in my study of the editorial texts.

Although I relied heavily upon the relatively recent theoretical models presented by Burke, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, and Toulmin, I also found one of Aristotle’s rhetorical constructs, the enthymeme, particularly useful.

3.1.1 *The Enthymeme: Understated Persuasion*

The enthymeme has been described as an incomplete or truncated syllogism, with a conclusion and one premise, with the other being implied (Corbett 73). The enthymeme is a schematic device that Aristotle developed to analyse and test deductive reasoning. For Aristotle, it is one of the two types of proofs: “Everyone who effects persuasion through proof does in fact use either enthymemes or examples: there is no other way” (1356b). Examples are inductions (basing the proof of a proposition on a number of similar cases), while enthymemes are syllogisms (or apparent syllogisms) since when it is shown that, certain propositions being true, a further and quite distinct proposition must also be true in consequence (Gross and Walzer 9). In a syllogism, “the reasoning follows this course: if A (Major premise) is true, and B (Minor premise) is true, then C (Conclusion or Claim) must be true” (Corbett 56). The conclusion is inferred from two or more premises. Aristotle notes that the enthymeme must consist of fewer propositions than a normal syllogism. Although he mentions enthymeme in several sections, he does not clearly define it (Gross and Walzer 9; Bitzer, “Aristotle’s” 179). The decision on what to omit relies on knowledge assumed to be held by readers or listeners: “For if any of these propositions is a familiar fact, there is no need even to mention it; the hearer adds it himself” (Aristotle 1357a). The omitted reference must not only be clearly understood by the reader, it must also be assumed to be a truism, or an acceptable and non-controversial generalization (Harris). This assumption of prior knowledge on behalf of the reader suggests that enthymemes work as tacit references to “social knowledge ... the mosaic of commonplaces, conventions, traditions and provisional interests” of the audience (Farrell 99), or, in other words, “contextual information and background knowledge” (Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, and Henkermans 15). This ability to “complete” the enthymeme plays a role in defining how persuasive the enthymemic structure is, based on its aptness for the intended audience. If the audience does not recognize the implicit premise, then the force of the argument is diminished.

Scholarship on the enthymeme focuses on this lack of a clear definition. James McBurney argues that the enthymeme is not a “truncated syllogism,” but rather, a syllogism drawn from probable causes, signs, and examples (58). He notes that the enthymeme lacks validity in the formal sense, but is “perfectly legitimate in reasoned discourse” (65). Bitzer,

however, suggests that a more useful definition includes these concepts of probabilities, signs, and examples, but also considers how the enthymeme is constructed to achieve its persuasive purpose. Bitzer suggests that the rhetorical importance of the enthymeme derives from the fact that the “speaker does not lay down his premises but lets his audience supply them out of its stock of opinion and knowledge” (“Aristotle’s” 187). He proposes that enthymemes mimic the interaction of question and answer in dialectic. “The audience itself helps construct the proofs by which it is persuaded,” thereby uniting speaker and audience and providing “the strongest possible proofs” (Bitzer, “Aristotle’s” 188). Other scholarship adds that this persuasive effect is not only because the audience supplies the unstated premises for a claim, but also because the audience does not object to the claim (Gross and Walzer 7–8). The persuasive power of the enthymeme has been recognized in various areas such as business ethics (Jacobi), everyday speech (Jackson and Jacobs), and environmental narrative (Ells). As I demonstrate in my analysis of the sample texts, editorials use this technique to great advantage. While the enthymeme allows readers to persuade themselves, increasing their assessment of the validity of the argument, it also forms ethical and pathetic appeals by enhancing the link between readers and editorials and creating a personalized connection with the subject matter because some of the content is supplied by the reader. This concept of the enthymeme will be illustrated in more detail in the case study of the *Toronto Star* 1 editorial.

In preparation for the subsequent examination of the argumentation strategies in each sample text, I review the terminology presented in chapter 2 as a means of identifying the various sections and strategies in editorials. As noted earlier, these sections are identified by colour and formatting features in the texts in the appendices; I have also included textual excerpts within the body of the case studies as each section is discussed.

In summary, the sections of the editorials are defined as:

Thesis: The main idea or opinion is usually explicitly expressed, but can be merely implied.

Endorsement: An explicit statement of support for a candidate and/or a party with respect to a forthcoming election. It may include wording such as “we endorse...” or other expressions that retain focus on the editorial’s opinion. **Dis-endorsement** is a negative statement of opinion, advising against a candidate and/or party.

Call-to-action: An explicit directive or command addressed to the reader to undertake some form of action such as “vote” or “give them ... support.”

Kairos or Time-to-act: An indication that this is the right or opportune time to do something.

Evidence: Facts, reasons, and other forms of information that support the thesis, and, by corollary, the endorsement and call-to-action.

Refutation: Answering and countering explicit or anticipated objections.

Context: The social, political, or other background information that situates the argument.

In this chapter so far, I have set out the theoretical framework that I will use to determine the argumentative strategies editorials employ to persuade readers, and the methods they use to support their claims and opinions. My work relies in large part on the frameworks, models and concepts developed by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, Toulmin, and Burke. Each theorist has a specific focus, with Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca and Toulmin perhaps strongest on describing logical appeals, and Burke focusing on pathos and ethos. However, they have much in common with their concerns for the underlying importance of beliefs and values, thus suggesting the importance of pathetic and ethical appeals for argumentation. The enthymeme, as defined by Aristotle and subsequent theorists, similarly gains its effectiveness from the participation of the reader. By supplying the missing premise or premises from background or shared knowledge and values, the reader in effect convinces himself, thus creating an emotional connection to the subject matter. These theorists provide a rich vocabulary and framework with which to examine the argumentative strategies employed in these sample endorsement editorials.

I proceed now to delineate the structures and arguments evident in the sample endorsement editorials and show how these texts achieve, or fail to achieve, a rhetorical or

persuasive effect. The first case study examines the endorsement editorial published by the *Globe and Mail*, which presents a logical argument that is enhanced by pathetic and ethical appeals.

3.2 Case Studies

3.2.1 *Globe and Mail*

Guiding the Reader: A *Logical Appeal for a Better Country*

The *Globe and Mail* editorial, “Election 2011: Facing Up to Our Challenges,” offers readers a vision of a Canada that is “bigger and bolder” [G.3]. Fiscally stable, democratic to its core, innovative, and globally respected, this Canada is within reach if voters will only elect a strong leader in the election campaign that is “nearing the end” [G.1]. The editorial develops its argument that “only” [G.16] Harper and the Conservatives have the characteristics and experience to achieve this vision, and it concludes by endorsing Harper and the Conservatives as the party that is “best positioned” [G.36] to guide Canada into the future. Interestingly, the editorial stops short of an explicit direction in the form of a call-to-action to vote for the Tories. The underlying argumentative strategy focuses on the proposed outcome of the election as the means to attain the desired end – the vision of Canada proposed by the editorial and, presumably, shared by the readers. Presenting this vision as an end enhances its importance (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 271). The argument incorporates strategies of comparison and dissociation to discount other alternatives and arrive at the preferred or “only” [G.16] means, which is specified as Harper and the Conservatives. By framing this opinion “as the sole solution, [the editorial] is effecting a ... transposition of a value judgment into a judgment of fact” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 181). Similarly, the endorsement acquires the strength of a factual statement by suggesting that the Tories are in the best position to guide Canada forward. The editorial invokes logical appeals, using informal logic along with stated reasons and examples to support claims. However, as the subsequent analysis demonstrates, this logical or rational appeal is enriched by pathetic appeals that draw on values shared with the readers and by ethical appeals that rely on the *Globe*’s credibility as a source of information. By incorporating all three rhetorical appeals,

the editorial seeks to gain or strengthen the adherence of its readers to the editorial's support of Harper and the Conservatives. I examine the *Globe* editorial in sections to show how the editorial develops its position by incorporating these three rhetorical appeals.

The *Globe* editorial, as noted in chapter 2, begins by setting out the political context in which the editorial is being published. By establishing the context at the outset, the editorial socially situates the argument, establishing the background of the circumstances being discussed, and, at the same time, shedding light on the reason behind the creation of the text. A decision or action may be criticized on the ground that it is immoral, illegal, unreasonable, or inefficient – that is, it fails to respect certain accepted rules or values. But this always occurs within a social context; it is always “situated” (Perelman, “Theory” 1400). To discuss a government's record at the beginning of a mandate would not carry as much import as an end-of-year, much less an end-of-term, review. By situating this argument at the end of an election campaign and immediately prior to the ultimately decisive action of voting, the editorial provides an important contextual framework for its subsequent evaluations. At the same time, the editorial confirms the exigence that has precipitated the writing of this text. It specifically links its solution to the “next” federal government [G.4] and the “next House of Commons” [G.5], confirming the importance of what will happen after the election. The urgency to address these issues is not only because the election campaign is almost over, but because these issues are at a “critical” [G.3] juncture, both domestically and internationally. Canada is on the brink of a decision that could help attain this shared vision of a “bigger and bolder” [G.2] Canada, so there is a pressing need for the editorial to address the situation now to provide insight and, ultimately, to persuade readers to adopt the editorial's proffered course of action. Establishing the context ensures that readers are apprised of the significance of the information that follows.

[G.1] We are nearing the end of an unremarkable and disappointing election campaign, marked by petty scandals, policy convergences and a dearth of serious debate. [G.2] Canadians deserved better. [G.3] We were not presented with an opportunity to vote for something bigger and bolder, nor has there been an honest recognition of the most critical issues that lie ahead: a volatile economy, ballooning public debts and the unwieldy future of our health-care system.

The editorial begins with appeals based on pathos and ethos. The negative description of the campaign as one that is “unremarkable and disappointing” and marked by “petty scandals”

and “a dearth of serious debate” [G.1] evokes a sense of dissatisfaction or frustration. The level of discontent is heightened by the following sentence: “Canadians deserved better” [G.2], which contrasts what Canadians received in the campaign with what they should have been given. This emotional description of the campaign conveys the editorial’s frustration with events and seeks to evoke those same emotions among its readers. This emotional appeal is amplified as the editorial presents a shared vision of Canada as it should be – “bigger and bolder” [G.3] – a vision that can inspire Canadians, rather than depress them as the campaign has. This envisioned Canada embodies democratic principles, is innovative, values fiscal stability and sustainability and its reputation as a positive force in the world. While these values are embraced by citizens of many other countries, they are assumed by the editorial to be particularly relevant to Canada at this time in its political development. Toulmin’s model of claims and grounds illustrates the unstated values and beliefs that render these grounds or stated reasons persuasive. The first sentence [G.1] has the underlying implied warrant that in a democracy, elections are an opportunity for change, for progress, and for leaders/parties to show their best to the electorate. Behind the statements that “Canadians deserved better” and that there “has not been an honest recognition of the most critical issues” [G.2, 3] is the implied warrant that an effective government balances financial issues with the needs of the people, and that it is proactive on behalf of its citizens.

The editorial enhances this appeal to the readers’ emotions in several ways. It aligns itself with its readers by opening with the inclusive pronoun “We” to suggest that the editorial and the readers have much in common. This linkage is repeated as the editorial complains that “We were not presented with an opportunity to vote for something bigger and bolder” [G.3]. By merging its interests and values with readers, the editorial enhances its ethos, which encourages readers to be receptive to the points presented. While the editorial points to a hope or vision for the future, it does not – at this point – specifically detail it, thereby allowing readers to imagine it and thus help to construct the argument. Drawing the reader into the development of the argument at this early stage encourages readers to invest in the argument and thus to help convince themselves. Establishing that the editorial and its readers share these democratic ideals of openness, innovation, reform, and a positive global presence creates a bond or sense of identification

between the editorial and the readers [Burke, *Rhetoric* 20], even as it allows the editorial to build on these shared values in the forthcoming argument.

The editorial similarly calls on readers to supply information supporting the references to events and issues; it suggests that not only has the campaign failed to invoke a suitable vision of the future, but that it has not sufficiently addressed the “most critical issues” [G.3] facing the country. The use of the superlative, “most critical,” enhances the prominence of these issues by portraying them in a unique position because they can only be compared to themselves (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 244). These issues are also introduced as facts or presumptions: “a volatile economy, ballooning public debts and the unwieldy future of our health-care system” [G.3]. These examples rely on readers’ background knowledge to supply the details that result in the “volatile” description of the economy, to sufficiently gauge the size of “ballooning” public debts, and to ascertain the factors involved in the “unwieldy” future of health care. In doing so, the editorial encourages readers to create a stronger affinity with the editorial and its views and to help construct the argument.

If readers do not accept these three issues as the “most critical,” the editorial assumes that they will at least consider them important and worthy of discussion. By enumerating them, the *Globe* editorial sets out the argumentative field – what issues will be addressed and compares them to a standard expected by “Canadians” in general. By selecting and presenting these particular elements, the editorial establishes “their importance and pertinency ... [and] endows them with a presence” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 116). While many issues are important, the editorial has selected these because it feels they will resonate with readers. The list of three, in parallel structure, also increases the chance that readers will agree that they are critical, thus augmenting the editorial’s ethos by creating a sense of identification with the editorial’s choices [Burke, *Rhetoric* 20]. At the same time, the editorial demonstrates that it is not only aware of which issues are important, but that it understands how they affect readers. The editorial ensures these issues are in readers’ minds as points for discussion and evaluation as the leaders, their records and promises, and the tasks facing the next government are discussed. The *Globe* editorial sets a deliberative tone, as it considers the best course of action for voters and for the country. By establishing its ethos or credibility, making readers feel an attachment to the

editorial, and stirring readers' emotions by inspiring them to consider a vision of the future, the editorial creates a receptive audience for its subsequent argument.

This vision of the future is solidified in the second paragraph through logic-based appeals. The claim that there are more challenges facing the next federal government [G.4] is supported by stated reasons about what the next government must do: protect Parliament and reform its equalization program [G.5, 6]. The implied warrant linking these is the belief that a government must promote and protect democratic processes, and, in a federal system such as Canada's, balance regional and national needs while incorporating the universal values of fairness and equality. The claim that U.S./Canada relations are also at a "critical juncture" [G.7] is similarly supported by stated reasons underscored by the implied warrant that a government must ensure good relations with its neighbours, both for the sake of international peace and for the good of its own citizens. The final sentence [G.9] adds more challenges that the next government must deal with. This sentence includes a list that, through accumulation of detail (Perelman, *Realm* 37), further increases the portrait of a country at a serious juncture in its development. This list of examples of the "challenges" facing the country and the claim that strong leadership is needed to deal with them is linked by the warrant that relies on a general belief that not only must a government be proactive on many issues, but that the country requires a strong leader to achieve this end. The final sentence [G.9] adds to the sense of criticality by presenting these additional issues at a much faster pace. Rather than the longer and more modulated exposition illustrated by the previous four sentences, the final sentence has a shotgun rhythm created by short phrases: "Wars in Libya and Afghanistan, climate change, Canada's role in the world, the rapid and exciting change of the country's ethnic and cultural makeup ..." [G.9]. The list terminates abruptly with a dash that sets off the concluding comment, "The list is great," which sums up the enumeration

[G.4]The challenges facing our next federal government do not end there, of course. [G.5]The next House of Commons must find new ways to protect Parliament, the heart of our democracy. [G.6]It needs to reform its troubled equalization program without straining national unity. [G.7]Relations with the U.S. are at a critical juncture. [G.8]Any thickening of the border threatens to punish all Canadians, while negotiations over perimeter security have implications for national sovereignty and economic security. [G.9]Wars in Libya and Afghanistan, climate change, Canada's role in the world, the rapid and exciting change of the country's ethnic and cultural makeup - the list is great, as is the need for strong leadership in Ottawa.

but also assumes the status of a fact that has been established by the preceding examples or data (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 145). The *Globe* editorial uses a comparative form to equate the list with the editorial's proposed means to solve them. "The list [of problems] is great, as is the need for strong leadership in Ottawa" [G.9]. The use of this simile allows the editorial to establish the relation between these two concepts (Perelman, "Theory" 1399) and to equate the sense of the enormity of the challenges to the "need" for strong leadership. In this way, the editorial, besides defining the issues facing the country, gives presence to the issue of leadership and draws it to the attention of the audience (Perelman, *Realm* 35), thereby setting up the subsequent thesis.

In these opening paragraphs, the *Globe* editorial employs pathos or an emotional appeal to attract a reader's attention and draws on shared values to create a sense of agreement that encourages readers to continue reading the argument. This sense of shared values demonstrated by the extensive listing of issues facing the country further enhances the editorial's ethos even as it validates the editorial as a well-researched and knowledgeable piece. The issues are presented as a logical appeal, inviting readers to not only think emotionally about the vision of Canada, but to think rationally about how this vision could be built. These appeals work in tandem to give presence to the issues the editorial addresses. These contextual paragraphs have drawn a portrait of "good" government as one that balances fiscal responsibility, protects democratic processes, looks after its citizens, and maintains good international relations. The editorial suggests that the government can only achieve these visions if it has a strong leader, thus effectually setting up the subsequent thesis statement.

The thesis is framed as a question, but it is a question for which the editorial already knows the answer (Perelman, *Realm* 38). Questions can be a "clever way of initiating a line of reasoning" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 159) that allows the issue of leadership to be raised without forcing the writer to state an opinion at this point in the discussion. The *Globe* editorial uses this question

[G.10] <u>Whom should Canadians turn to?</u>
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to structure its argument to consider and eliminate possible solutions, before proposing the one it considers preferable and wants readers to agree with. As part of the overall argumentative strategy of "means-to-an-end" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 273–78), the thesis emphasizes

that the leader of the next government is the essential means to achieve the desired end depicted in its vision of Canada. The thesis' brevity draws attention, as it results in a great deal of white space separating it, and setting it off, from the surrounding grey text. This foregrounds the thesis physically just as its content foregrounds the argument. The thesis is the only question in the *Globe* editorial, which signals that it is important and lends it a special presence. The use of the interrogative form implies agreement on the existence of the need for a strong leader; the only remaining question concerns *who* should fill that role. This focus on the person is conveyed through the pronoun "whom" as opposed to phrasing such as "Where should Canadians turn?" or "What party should Canadians support?" Using "whom" personifies the solution and figuratively casts the leader as a protector or guide. The leader represents the party and the two are often considered interchangeable through the use of metonymy. The choice of "whom," as opposed to the more informal and everyday usage of "who," has connotations that syntactically categorize the solution or leader. "Who" is the subjective form of this pronoun, traditionally used to indicate an actor with agency to "do" things, whereas "whom" is the objective form, indicating an actor who is the recipient of action. In this usage, agency remains with Canadians (the voters) who are syntactically accorded the power to choose someone to turn to, rather than a construction that asks "who should fill the role?" The word choice for the thesis also reaches out to readers and helps them connect with the editorial. The thesis sentence is a combination of the correct interrogatory pronoun "whom" with an incorrect structure that places the preposition at the end of the sentence. The correct grammatical syntax is "To whom should Canadians turn?", while the more informal, everyday usage could involve the incorrect form of the pronoun and a syntax placing the preposition at the end: "Who should Canadians turn to?" Thus, the *Globe* editorial writer straddles two worlds of diction to appeal to the widest range of readers possible. The register shifts from less formal to more formal with the use of "whom" implying the seriousness of the question being considered. There is a nod to the correct, formal usage with "whom," but there is also the more conversational syntax with the improperly positioned preposition at the end of the sentence.

This framing of the thesis lays the groundwork for the argumentation that follows, in which the possible leaders are evaluated on the basis of their past performance. This strategy of

argumentation involves the liaison of co-existence – in which a person and his actions, his attitudes, or his works are shown to be the expression or manifestation of each other (Perelman, *Realm* 90; Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 262). Equating the person with his or her actions is particularly apt within a political milieu that involves multiple layers of responsibility. The leader is deemed responsible for the actions undertaken by his party and/or government, while the party and/or government is portrayed as the embodiment of the leader's beliefs and personality. There is an additional layer of transference in that, in the Canadian political system, voters do not directly elect the prime minister but, rather, he or she attains the position based upon their position as leader of the party that has the most seats in Parliament. Citizens vote for a party member running in the local constituency with the hope that the party they choose to support will garner enough seats to form a government. Through the rhetorical concept of synecdoche, in which the part is used to represent the whole, the leader, the party, and the local candidate are all used to refer to one another. The leader is synonymous with the party and its actions, just as the local candidate is deemed responsible for the actions or statements of the leader and/or party, even though he or she may be far removed from their actual creation. Likewise, the party and/or the leader take responsibility for the actions and statements of candidates, despite having little or no control over them.

In this concept of co-existence, leaders are judged on the basis of their personal characteristics, as well as by their actions. These actions or characteristics are deemed indicative of their suitability for leadership, both of their respective parties and, ultimately, of Canada. Voters are not only choosing a governing party, but, by default, the person who will lead that party and the country. "It is the person who is praised or blamed, compensated or chastised" because the person is deemed responsible for his past actions (Perelman, *Realm* 91). These past actions are reviewed in this editorial, both as an evaluation of past performance and as a predictor of future action. The party can be supported or discounted based on the leader's attitudes and performance. As the editorial surveys the possible solutions to its thesis question, it maintains this focus on the person who is the leader and thus the primary representative of the party.

The *Globe* employs epideictic discourse to discuss the alternative candidates, combining elements of praise and criticism. Ethos and pathos are apparent as the editorial considers and discounts Michael Ignatieff and Jack Layton. These two paragraphs comprise the main refutation of opposing opinions, an important rhetorical strategy that builds the ethos of the editorial by recognizing other viewpoints. “The Liberal Party’s Michael Ignatieff”

[G.11]The Liberal Party’s Michael Ignatieff has been an honourable opposition leader; he has risen above the personal attacks launched by the Conservatives, he has stood up for Parliament, and he has fought hard in this election. [G.12]But his campaign failed to show how the Conservative government has failed, and why he and the Liberals are a preferred alternative.

[G11] is first presented as a possible solution to the thesis question. The paragraph begins with an emphasis on the person, praising him as “an honourable opposition leader ... [who] has risen above the personal attacks, ... stood up for Parliament and fought hard in the election” [G.11]. These actions provide examples of how an “honourable” leader functions with the implied warrant that Ignatieff has displayed traits of leadership that are desirable in a democratic country like Canada. However, this praise is countered with a negative assessment based on “his campaign” that has failed to show why “he and the Liberals are a preferred alternative” [G.12]. Ignatieff is equated with his actions and with the resulting effectiveness of the Liberal Party’s campaign. The editorial does not supply grounds to support the claim that he has failed to show why he deserves to win the election; instead, it relies on readers’ background knowledge to support the contention that Ignatieff has not successfully proven why he and his party should replace the Conservatives. The negative phrasing of “failed to show” leaves it uncertain exactly what standard they have been judged against (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 156); this allows readers to supply information and help create the argument. The underlying presumption is that a leader must not only be capable and exemplify the democratic values Canadians believe in, but must be able to show this in an election campaign to prove themselves better than the others and deserving of the citizens’ votes. The strategy of co-existence is embodied in the initial reference to Ignatieff as “The Liberal Party’s Michael Ignatieff” [G.11] – as if he is owned by, or a product of, the party, and the two are thus inseparable. The word order also implies that the party is more important than the leader; in the Canadian system, parties endure (for the most part) whereas leaders can change frequently. This strategy prepares readers for the subsequent criticism. While

there is much to praise about Ignatieff's conduct, and there is a correspondence of him with the party, there is no guarantee that he will always be the leader. In addition, the claim limits the praise to his role as an "opposition leader" [G.11], which could be considered quite different from being the leader of the country. However, since past actions can be a predictor of future actions (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 298), there is the possibility of expansion to the new roles. While the Liberal Party can bask in the praise stemming from Ignatieff's actions, there is no assurance it will continue. The syntactical arrangement of the sentence also conveys the editorial's opinion. By placing the name of party and leader at the beginning of the sentence, the syntax emphasizes that this is the known aspect and that what follows is new information or the information at issue (Kress and Van Leeuwen 181). The claim comprises the contestable statement that he has been an honourable opposition leader, which is then supported by examples. This arrangement, in which "honourable" is arranged syntactically as contestable, forces readers to consider the possible traits of an "honourable opposition leader," prior to continuing with the sentence that follows the semi-colon. The reader is drawn into the argument and can compare his or her mental constructs against the examples subsequently provided. The editorial assumes that the reader will respond favourably to these examples, since they embody statesmanlike conduct and the beliefs it assumes that readers hold, but the initial portrayal of Ignatieff as someone who is owned by the party dehumanizes him and distances him from readers. Coupled with the critique that is aimed at "his campaign" that failed to prove the party's worthiness, the editorial allows readers who may feel favourably inclined towards Ignatieff to retain support while still accepting that he has not achieved all that is needed to lead the country. This refutation paragraph suggests a standard of leadership that it assumes Canadians will support, and then shows how Ignatieff meets some of the criteria, but falls short on others.

Pathos and ethos are also predominant in the second refutation paragraph that deals with Layton; however, this portrayal does not conflate

[G.13]Jack Layton has energized the New Democrats and the electorate, and seems more able than the other leaders to connect with ordinary people. [G.14]He has succeeded in putting a benign gloss on his party's free-spending policies, but those policies remain unrealistic and unaffordable, at a time when the country needs to better manage public spending, not inflate it. [G.15]He has shown that a federalist party can make serious inroads in Quebec, but it has come at the cost of an unwelcome promise to impose provisions of Quebec's language law in federal workplaces.

Layton and the party to the same extent as was the case with the Liberals. The name, Jack Layton, is used first, implying that he is more important than the party. Nor is he tied to the party by directly referring to him by title or position in the party. Layton is personally credited with “energizing” the New Democrats – in effect maintaining a modicum of distance between his persona and that of the party. His position is mentioned in an oblique manner by a favourable comparison to “the other leaders” [G.13]. He personally is credited with “putting a benign gloss” on his party’s spending policies, assigning him a role as spokesperson for the party [G.14]. The linkage between leader and party is strengthened in the final sentence [G.15]; it states that “he has shown that a federalist party can make inroads” which is, in essence, crediting him for the performance of the party. Although the linkage is not as strong as between Ignatieff and the Liberal Party, the editorial does create a significant tie between the NDP and its leader. In this paragraph, readers are offered a different concept of leadership. The first sentence is a positive description of Layton as a leader and person, praising his ability “to connect with ordinary people” [G.13]. The phrase “more able” provides a qualification to suggest that he is better than the others, although there is no standard or endorsement that he is the best. While the grounds or examples suggest the reasons behind the assessment, they also rely on background knowledge to understand how Layton has energized the New Democrats and/or connected with people [G.13]. Similarly, although examples are provided, the two subsequent claims require background knowledge to fully understand the “benign gloss” on the “free-spending policies” [G.14] or the Quebec initiative as “an unwelcome promise” [G.15]. The implied warrants underlying these claims are that Layton has shown traits of good leadership such as energy and connecting with people, but that he – through his party’s policies – has failed to show fiscal prudence or regional sensitivity. By referring vaguely to “free-spending policies” and alluding to inflation, the editorial triggers mental images of these policies and encourages readers to imagine how they would be personally affected. On the positive side, Layton has shown it is possible to have a federal party with representation across the entire country. Canadians want a leader who is acceptable to Quebec, and there are a number of assumptions and background knowledge that are relied upon in this statement. However, the word “unwelcome” [G.15] suggests that these inroads have been achieved by giving unequal treatment, a contravention of basic democratic

values. Canadians perceive the language law negatively, despite the fact that it only applies within the Province of Quebec; thus these concessions are contrary to the actions of a good leader who should not cater to specific interest groups to the detriment of other groups. These two final points are portrayed in a negative manner – the “benign gloss” suggests that on the surface the “free-spending policies” look good, but underneath they are still “unrealistic and unaffordable” [G.14], and they contravene the values of fiscal restraint that the editorial shares with readers.

Those opinions are presented as factual assessments, and the negative values are attributed to the person deemed responsible, in this case, Layton (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 297). Layton, the policies, and the party are deemed jointly responsible in this example of forensic rhetoric reviewing of his past actions. The language law is portrayed as alarming because it is “unwelcome” and “imposed” [G.15], and this creates an emotional appeal; there is also a logical appeal attached to the “unrealistic” and “unaffordable” spending critique that relates to the real world and is measurable. The editorial demonstrates that Layton has elements of the ideal leader, particularly in dealing with people, but does not have the skills to ensure fiscal responsibility. These assessments incorporate values shared by the editorial and its readers, thus increasing the ethos of the editorial. The editorial further enhances its ethos because it appears to represent the interests of all Canadians, ensuring fairness and justice for all. On language issues, English-speaking Canadians want fair treatment, but they do not want excessive concessions. Because the editorial represents their interests, readers may tend to agree with the viewpoints expressed.

In the assessments of both Ignatieff and Layton, the editorial increases its ethos by its strategy of offering a sentence of praise for each alternative, prior to criticism. Ignatieff and Layton are both personally praised, thus preventing criticism of an *ad hominem* or personal attack. The negative assessments are, instead, attached to actions: Ignatieff is chastised for his ineffective campaign and Layton for his policies on spending and language rights. By showing that it recognizes strengths as well as weaknesses, the editorial conveys the sense of impartiality (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 315), which encourages a reader to consider the editorial, and the newspaper by extension, a reliable source. The warrants behind the claims constitute the

attributes of a model leader – energy, relating to people, representing the entire country, fiscal restraint, and regional fairness. The editorial thus creates this definition of an ideal leader in a democratic system, showing how these alternative candidates exhibit some of those characteristics but lack others. The refutation or rejection of two possible alternatives paves the way for the presentation of the editorial’s preferred solution. This arrangement of the presentation of the possible candidates follows a hierarchical structure by first discussing the one that might be considered the most viable option: the current leader of the official opposition, or the “government in waiting.” The implication that Ignatieff and the Liberals are the editorial’s most likely answer to the thesis is reinforced with the concluding dependent clause: “... why he and the Liberals are a preferred alternative” [G.12]. The editorial thus acknowledges those who would support the Liberals as a viable option, but then indicates that the Liberals should not be supported, not for reasons of quality in an absolute sense, but because they have not proven their case for leadership. In the previous Parliament, the NDP, with the fourth highest number of seats, was not necessarily in a position to form a government. By addressing the NDP after dispensing with the Liberals, the editorial suggests that they are less likely to be a viable answer to the thesis question. By discussing and eliminating two possible alternatives, the *Globe* editorial uses the loci of the preferable or the most probable solution. Although the two parties and their leaders are presented as reasonable alternatives, their negative aspects are shown to outnumber the positive (locus of quantity), so they must be ruled out (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 85). After showing that Ignatieff and Layton do not possess all the values that Canadians expect in a leader, the editorial discusses its preferred option at length. This argumentative strategy eliminates other possibilities from the audience’s consideration, allowing the editorial to concentrate for the remainder of the discussion on the selection it endorses.

The *Globe*’s presentation of its preferred leader and party uses arguments that incorporate logical appeals. The *Globe* presents its

[G.16]Only Stephen Harper and the Conservative Party have shown the leadership, the bullheadedness (let's call it what it is) and the discipline this country needs. [G.17]He has built the Conservatives into arguably the only truly national party, and during his five years in office has demonstrated strength of character, resolve and a desire to reform. [G.18]Canadians take Mr. Harper's successful stewardship of the economy for granted, which is high praise. [G.19]He has not been the scary character portrayed by the opposition; with some exceptions, his government has been moderate and pragmatic.

answer as, “Only Stephen Harper and the Conservative Party ...” [G.16, my emphasis], framing it as the best means to achieve the desired end. The adverb “only” comparatively reinforces that other alternatives have been measured and found wanting. They are depreciated in value by contrasting them with the superlative, positive description of the Conservatives (Perelman, *Realm* 75). This form of comparison, in effect, turns this statement of opinion into a judgment of fact (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 181) that readers will accept without requiring further proof. The preference for this option is further emphasized by an accumulation of details, with a succession of reasons to support them; this overt demonstration of knowledgeable commentary enhances the writer’s ethos.

In contrast to the previous methods of relating the leader to his party, the editorial portrays Harper as a leader who is equal to his party by using the phrasing: “Stephen Harper and the Conservatives” [G.16]. This treatment shows another aspect of leadership – unlike the Liberals, this leader is not less than the party; neither is he superior to the party, unlike the NDP. In this circumstance, the ideal leader is equivalent to his party, and is identified both with his party and with his role as leader. The editorial states that Harper and the party have shown “leadership ... bullheadedness ... and discipline” [G.16], attributes that can apply to people as well as to personified entities such as a party. By doing so, the *Globe* editorial suggests that the party has an existence of its own. By extending these attributes to the leader and party, the editorial emphasizes their overarching importance at the national level. Leadership has been indirectly referred to in the assessments of the other two leaders that teased out various aspects of an ideal leader through the warrants based on shared values with the readers. This overarching reference incorporates all the aspects previously discussed, implying that Harper and the Conservative Party embody not only those displayed by the other leaders, but also those aspects which they have failed to demonstrate. Although the term “bullheadedness” is informal and has a negative connotation, the editorial frames it positively by including it between the valued traits of “leadership” and “discipline” [G.16] and by stating that the country “needs” these characteristics. The aside, “let’s call it what it is” [G.16], acknowledges that this trait is not necessarily always appropriate and lays some mental groundwork for subsequent criticism of Harper. These largely personal traits contribute to both a pathetic and an ethical appeal. There is

the underlying warrant that these are traits that readers agree are necessary for a leader to succeed. Crediting Harper with the “discipline this country needs” [G.16] contrasts to the previous portrayal of the lack of discipline (free-spending) of the NDP. The reader must supply instances in which Harper’s actions might be termed “bullheaded” or those that demonstrate other identified characteristics such as “strength of character” [G.17]. In the process of supplying these unstated reasons, readers become invested in the argument. This lengthy listing of demonstrations of the leadership that the country needs illustrates that Harper has more leadership potential than either of the other possibilities.

By referring to the party as “truly national,” the editorial suggests there is a disconnect between appearance and reality (Perelman, *Realm* 13), a conflict that is further emphasized by its description as “arguably” [G.17]. The statement that this party is “truly” national implies that the other parties are not, despite their claims. This invokes the previous discussion of the NDP as a federalist party making serious inroads in Quebec [G.15] and invites further comparison between the two. The final logic claim in this paragraph suggests that Harper’s stewardship has been successful and taken for granted, and that his government has been moderate and pragmatic. These claims rely on unstated reasons and draw on reader knowledge of the political situation to supply concrete examples of economic stewardship, discipline, and pragmatism. In the denial that Harper “has not been the scary character portrayed by the opposition,” the negative verb formation implies that this claim is consistent enough that the editorial must devote space to refute it (Perelman, *Realm* 46). The term “portrayed” questions the credibility of the claim, as does the attribution of the accusation to the “opposition” rather than to a specific party or leader. The opposition is a vague entity that could indicate the opposition party or parties, but could also be broadened to include non-political elements. The other innuendo implied by using this term is the inherent meaning of the root word – to oppose which includes the concept of adversary or opponent, someone who obstructs or goes against what is proposed. The editorial specifically raises and discounts this criticism with the claim that “his government has been moderate and pragmatic” [G.19].

The “principled judgment” demonstrated in the economic file implies that principles or morals are associated with good judgment and, through this association of actions with values,

these are ascribed to Harper. There is the presumption that because he exemplified these characteristics in the past, they will continue to be part of his character since past acts are a predictor of future acts (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 298). The person – Ignatieff, Layton, or Harper – is deemed a product of his past, whether as an individual or party leader, and it is this composite persona that confirms Harper’s suitability for the leadership role as it is envisioned by the thesis. By encouraging consideration of past performance, this line of reasoning allows readers to accept the comparisons and judgments provided by the editorial because they are based on concrete examples and actions. These appeals to logic are augmented by emotional appeals. The implied warrant for this evidence section invokes readers’ tenets that these are traits and examples associated with good leadership and prudent governance, especially in the current context: discipline, economic astuteness, moderation, pragmatism – even bullheadedness. At the same time, this section enhances the editorial’s ethos by creating closer links with readers. By pointing out that “Canadians take Mr. Harper’s successful stewardship of the economy for granted” [G.18], the editorial creates a group with which readers will identify since they share the desire for fiscal prudence. By portraying the description presented by the “opposition” as “scary” [G.19], the editorial points out the conflict between groups, which further encourages readers to align with the editorial [Burke, *Rhetoric* 20].

The editorial tempers its praise with constructive criticism on how the Tories might do better. By addressing this issue, the editorial acknowledges there is some substance to the criticism. However, it uses dissociation to suggest that the evaluation of these characteristics depends on definition and application: The “disciplined approach” could be more usefully applied to the “challenges at hand” [G.20], but instead has been used to control

[G.20]Mr. Harper could achieve a great deal more if he would relax his grip on Parliament, its independent officers and the flow of information, and instead bring his disciplined approach to bear on the great challenges at hand. [G.21]That is the great strike against the Conservatives: a disrespect for Parliament, the abuse of prorogation, the repeated attempts (including during this campaign) to stanch debate and free expression. [G.22]It is a disappointing failing in a leader who previously emerged from a populist movement that fought so valiantly for democratic reforms.

Parliament and debate. This argument invokes a locus of quality: a characteristic is more valuable when it carries greater consequences (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 91), or when the ends it achieves are more highly valued. It is not necessarily the characteristic, since discipline

has been presented as a valued trait in a leader, but its application that should be criticized, the editorial suggests. The list is presented briefly and in a relatively understated manner: “disrespect for Parliament” implies that there is, or was, some element of respect; “abuse” is not an absolute negation, and the description “attempts to stanch debate and free expression” suggests that it was not successful [G.21]. These are treated as aberrations or exceptions, not as an irreparable character flaw, “a disappointing failing” [G.22] in someone whose tradition exemplifies the opposite. This argument, in effect, minimizes these acts that others may have considered important (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 297). By treating them as exceptions or misapplications of otherwise much admired characteristics, the editorial suggests they are not important enough to disqualify Harper as the preferred candidate. These critical comments are not directed at Harper personally, but at actions such as “a grip on Parliament,” and at “the Conservatives” as a group. Harper is protected from the brunt of the criticism; it is not his individual failing, but a group failing. Harper is a leader with desirable characteristics, some of which need to be redirected.

Underlying these criticisms are the warrants that citizens expect a free flow of information from government and the protection of democratic processes. In addition, readers are assumed to reject a hypocritical leader who appears to have deviated from his reformist background. By providing a detailed list of examples of the “great strike” against the Conservatives, the editorial builds ethos with its readers, while at the same time triggering an emotional response with its choice of words: “disrespect for Parliament,” “abuse of prorogation,” and “stanch debate and free expression”[G.21]. These are provocative terms that cause readers to make judgments, but judgments that are guided by the editorial’s depiction of them as “disappointing” failings and buttressed by the underlying belief in Harper’s redemption; he “could” [G.20] redirect these traits. The editorial enhances its ethical appeal by acknowledgment of the shortcomings of its preferred candidate and its suggestions regarding how these could be rectified. However, it risks alienating some readers at the same time because these actions strike at the heart of Parliament’s democratic process. The editorial appears to treat proroguing as an aberration, rather than as a serious offence. For readers originally from other countries where democracy did not exist or was abused, this forgiving treatment of these failings may actually

reduce the editorial's ethos. This section continues to draw on the beliefs shared with readers to add more details to the portrait of a good leader and the vision of a Canada that is "bigger and bolder" [G.3]. With this endpoint in mind, the paragraph suggests further ways to achieve this, thus stimulating emotional responses of readers. Harper's disciplined approach [G.20], previously presented as a positive aspect, can help achieve this great vision if it is redirected.

The editorial immediately follows this acknowledgement of areas needing improvement with a lengthy section providing evidence supporting its stance that Harper and the Conservatives are the best choice in this election. The reasons advanced in support of the main claim that Harper's "overall record ... is good" [G.23] rely on logos by pointing to specific

examples of programs and initiatives that the editorial considers capable of achieving fiscal responsibility and economic growth. The implied warrants for this section rely on an assumption that readers want fiscal programs that prevent unmanageable deficits that may impact future generations. A second warrant is that strong economic policies are needed to ensure the country will prosper and achieve the vision of a bigger and better Canada. Although the programs and initiatives are mentioned, the

[G.23]Those who disdain the Harper approach should consider his overall record, which is good. [G.24]The Prime Minister and the Conservative Party have demonstrated principled judgment on the economic file. [G.25]They are not doctrinaire; with the support of other parties they adopted stimulus spending after the financial crash of 2008, when it was right to do so. [G.26]They have assiduously pursued a whole range of trade negotiations. [G.27]They have facilitated the extension of the GST/HST to Ontario and British Columbia, and have persisted in their plan for a national securities regulator. [G.28]The Conservatives have greater respect, too, for the free market, and for freedom of international investment, in spite of their apparent yielding to political pressure in the proposed takeover of Potash Corp.

editorial relies on background knowledge to fill in the details, forcing readers to invest in creating the argument and enhancing the pathetic appeal. At the same time, the knowledgeable manner in which the editorial surveys the financial and economic landscape assures the reader that the editorial is a credible source. Through its choice of policies and the descriptive words used, the editorial touches the values shared with readers about fiscal and economic policy. The Conservatives demonstrated "principled judgment" [G.24] on the economic file, and they are "not doctrinaire" as they adopted stimulus spending "when it was right to do so" [G.25]. These and other examples provide a concrete embodiment of values or judgments and allow the evaluation of these aspects to be presented as facts. The editorial not only creates a sense of

shared values with its readers, it makes a strategic move to segment its audience. By addressing “those who disdain the Harper approach” [G.23], the editorial appeals to a particular group of readers who may take issue with the methods used by the Conservatives (those addressed in the preceding paragraph, e.g., disrespect for Parliament). The editorial asks this group to look beyond the rough methods, which it has gently chastised, to focus on the results in a number of important areas; the unstated assumption is that the end sometimes justifies the means and they are asked to identify with the *Globe* in that opinion [Burke, *Rhetoric* 55].

Health care – one of the “most critical issues” identified at the beginning of the editorial – is treated primarily with a logical argument, supported by the only use of data in this editorial. The contention that the health field could “swallow as much as 31 cents of each new dollar in wealth ... in the next 20 years” [G.31] provides concrete numbers that allow a reader to vividly picture the massive cost. Combined with the metaphoric description of health care as “suffering from chronic spending disease” [G.30], this example renders the subject matter very real indeed, and through a pathetic appeal, imbues it with significance for readers. Health care is an issue that affects every person at some time or another, and is thus a strong example to utilize. Because readers must supply what “greater experimentation in private delivery” [G.32] would look like, they help convince themselves of the need for this. The implied warrants are that while health care is valued, it must be balanced with fiscal responsibility, and that leadership traits of determination and reform, identified earlier, are needed to solve this particular problem. The editorial enhances its ethos by subtly including the nuances of the debate: the aging population (of which the reader is quite likely a member) makes “sustainability” [G.29] of the existing system increasingly difficult. However, the editorial uses comparative phrasings such as “more determination” and “greater experimentation” [G.29, 32] to suggest that, based on previous actions, Harper and the Conservatives have the skills to achieve this, and that they need only develop and re-apply them. This form of comparison suggests a

[G.29]Even more determination will be needed to confront the sustainability of publicly funded health care in an aging society. [G.30]Health care is suffering from chronic spending disease. [G.31]If left unchecked, it could swallow as much as 31 cents of each new dollar in wealth created in Canada in the next 20 years. [G.32]In spite of some unwise commitments he has made on subsidy increases to the provinces, Mr. Harper has the toughness and reformist instincts to push the provinces toward greater experimentation (in private delivery, for instance) and change.

sense of continuity, a valorization of the existing characteristics, and a belief that the progress already exhibited can continue to expand and grow. Throughout the editorial, the writer builds a composite picture of the ideal leader and their requisite traits, implying that Harper exhibits more of these elements than the other two contenders combined.

This climax of positively assessing Harper brings the editorial full circle, returning to its focus on the imminent decision that will end this “vicious and vapid” [G.33] campaign. This final appeal embraces

[G.33]*The campaign of 2011 - so vicious and often vapid - should not be remembered fondly. [G.34]But that will soon be behind us. [G.35]If the result is a confident new Parliament, it could help propel Canada into a fresh period of innovation, government reform and global ambition.*

emotion – as did the opening paragraphs – by noting that the campaign “should not be remembered fondly” [G.33]. But it also creates an affinity with readers in the relief that this will soon be behind “us” [G.34], implying that the editorial and readers share the same hopes and beliefs [Burke, *Rhetoric* 21]. This pathetic appeal continues with an echo of the earlier appeal to the vision of a bigger and better Canada, a Parliament that “could help propel Canada into a fresh period of innovation, government reform and global ambition” [G.35]. While the description of the new Parliament as “confident” carries an emotional component, it also subtly suggests a more concrete manifestation – that the confidence can only be achieved by a strong – majority – government. This emotional setup engages readers so they will be moved to act on the ultimate message that follows in the endorsement statement.

As the endorsement, the final sentence in the editorial declares that the Conservatives are “best positioned” [G.36] to guide Canada. This sense of

[G.36]**Stephen Harper and the Conservatives are best positioned to guide Canada there.**

arriving at the “best” answer coincides with the earlier depiction of the Conservatives as the “only” solution, the superlative answer to the question. To clarify this, the *Globe* editorial’s concluding sentence is written as a declarative statement, specifying both the leader and the party: “Stephen Harper and the Conservatives are best positioned to guide Canada there” [G.36]. This is not a prescriptive statement telling readers what to do; rather, it sums up the preceding arguments about the characteristics and leadership traits demonstrated by Harper. The comparison “best positioned” does not denigrate the other parties or rule them completely

inadequate to the task, but instead establishes that the Conservatives are the most attractive choice available to govern within the current political context. Given their accomplishments to date (as detailed in the *Globe* editorial) and their prospects for the future, they are in a physical or mental space where they can “guide” the country. This final statement encapsulates the argumentative strategy of means-to-an-end: Stephen Harper and the Conservatives are best positioned [the best means] to guide Canada there [to the end vision of Canada shared by the editorial and its readers].

This endorsement stops short of an actual call-to-action. Readers are not advised to vote, or even to support, the Conservatives. However, by combining the pathetic appeal that only a “confident” (i.e. majority) government can achieve the vision of Canada that the editorial and the readers share, with this assessment of Harper and the Conservatives as being in the “best position” to guide the country towards this vision, the editorial allows readers to complete the connection and thus persuade themselves of how to enact the suggestion. The editorial positions readers to determine that if they want this vision of Canada, the Conservatives are the best means to achieve that end. The editorial has primed the readers with pathetic, ethical, and logical appeals to take the final step necessary to support the Conservatives.

Discussion

The *Globe* editorial is predicated on the expectation that readers will share the basic vision and values being supported – democratic principles, a desire for a world presence, and an economically sound country. Vision and values are closely tied to emotion, and the editorial utilizes emotional appeals to encourage readers to invest in the argument and to gain their adherence to its stance. Using the argumentative strategy of means-to-an-end coincides with this pathetic appeal: readers are given a direct link between the means and the desired end so that the value placed on the end transfers to the means to create a strong emotional connection (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 267). Specifically, the highly desired vision of a bigger and better Canada can only be achieved by supporting Harper and the Conservatives, thus transferring support for the end to the means to achieve it. The ethos that the editorial seeks to create is also heightened when the editorial’s non-partisanship is demonstrated by its awareness of its favoured

candidate's weaknesses. By focusing on aspects that are pertinent to the reader, such as health care, the editorial demonstrates an understanding of its readers and what is important to them, which encourages them to accept the editorial's stance. By creating this positive ethos, the editorial establishes itself as a credible source of knowledge upon which readers can rely.

The editorial is primarily deliberative, debating the best means to achieve the "bigger and bolder" country that Canadians deserve. But it also has forensic elements because in the course of this examination, the editorial accuses and defends all parties for their past actions, with the presumed purpose of bringing about a change in the manner in which parties conduct themselves. Harper, for example, is accused of disrespect for Parliament, with the implication that all leaders should respect Parliament. This judicial accounting becomes clear when the editorial asks readers to "consider his overall record, which is good" [G.23]. The forensic discourse relies on an assessment of whether the leaders have acted justly. Much of the praise for Harper could be considered an example of epideictic rhetoric, as is the discussion of Ignatieff and Layton that clearly invokes elements of praise and blame.

The editorial utilizes logical appeals to buttress its stance, but it also seeks to establish common ground with readers, excite them about the possibilities through a pathetic appeal, and enhance its credibility because it shares this vision with its readers. The *Globe* editorial utilizes all three rhetorical appeals to establish the need for a leader, to delineate the characteristics of a model leader, and then to certify that Harper fulfills these requirements, hoping to sufficiently engage readers so they will take the next step of putting the endorsement into action.

In the next case study, I examine how the *National Post* similarly employs an argumentative structure of means-to-an-end to present an argument that incorporates pathos and ethos to persuade readers of the logic of electing a Conservative majority government.

3.2.2 *National Post*

Editorial Offers Certain Answers for Uncertain Times

The *National Post*'s editorial, "Still Right for Canada: Stephen Harper's Conservatives are the Clear Choice in Uncertain Times," urges readers to vote for Conservative candidates in the imminent election. Stability, both in politics and the economy, is valorized, while its inverse, instability, is portrayed as a situation to be avoided at all costs. The editorial argues that, to achieve this stability, Canada requires strong, steady leadership to negotiate extant economic and political uncertainties and to continue to progress as a nation; it further argues that the Conservatives are the only party positioned to "steer Canada forward" [P.6], a contention based on Harper's record of leadership. The editorial gives little credence to the possibility of other parties filling this leadership role, and describes a dystopian scenario of the resultant instability if the Conservatives do not win enough seats to control Parliament. The *Post* editorial's conviction that a Conservative Party majority is essential to achieve the desired equilibrium manifests itself in multiple endorsement statements culminating in a final, very explicit call-to-action. To accomplish this task of encouraging readers to vote Conservative, the editorial offers its readers extensive logical appeals framed by appeals to ethos and pathos devised to gain and increase readers' adherence to the opinions expressed.

The *Post*'s argumentative strategy relies on the structure of reality – relating a means to an end (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 273-8). As its endpoint or goal, the editorial focuses on the need for a strong, stable government to allow the country to develop as a nation, given its current political and economic challenges; voting for the Conservatives led by Harper – in sufficient numbers to give them a majority in Parliament – is the best way to achieve this desired state. By framing the need for stable government as an end, the *Post* editorial enhances the importance of this outcome because it is a singular and distinct result that is clearly identifiable and measurable (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 271). Cause-and-effect arguments are relatively similar to this means-to-an-end strategy, but may entail a number of consequences or effects. The *Post* editorial adopts only part of this cause-and-effect strategy by distinguishing just one act that can result in the desired endpoint of a stable government: any result less than a majority would have a destabilizing effect. By limiting the means to "only" one [P.19], the editorial emphasizes

the value of that act (a majority Conservative government) because of the importance of the end that it alone can achieve. The editorial focuses much of its argument on establishing that the means is not only effective, but that it is also the best – and only – way to achieve that end. This strategy results in a very clear causal relationship between one means and one end. The importance of this end point of stability in the political sphere and in the economy is underscored by the editorial's assumption that this is a value that is also embraced by readers. It does not need to justify stability as a value; stability can be assumed to be universally accepted because of Canada's democratic basis and its system of government – to argue in support of anarchy is considered to be foolish in this country. The editorial relates this value to the current Canadian social milieu: the “uncertain economic times” are cause for concern and must be dealt with. This shared value is extended to encompass economic and fiscal stability as both a requisite and a result of a stable political situation. However, while stability is valued, it does not necessarily imply status quo. The editorial invokes another value that it assumes is shared by readers – the need and desire for progress. The country must move “forward” [P.6] despite the uncertain economic times, and the government should “push forward” [P.40] on projects that the editorial feels will benefit the country. This value is closely tied to that of stable government, and, in fact, could be linked to the Canadian constitutional directive that laws should be enacted to ensure “peace, order and good government.” By invoking these overarching values or beliefs, the editorial connects emotionally with readers. They can envision how this stability (or lack thereof) impacts their lives and thus realize its importance. Helping readers connect with this vision of a Canada that is stable and moving forward with initiatives for the good of the country constitutes a pathetic appeal that encourages readers to favourably consider the argument presented. At the same time, this vision of a stable, progressive country enhances the editorial's ethos by demonstrating that it is aware of the issues that are important to readers, and that they share a similar world view. With this overview in mind, I now examine how the *Post* editorial constructs its argument to persuade readers.

Rather than setting out the context of the election campaign, as does the *Globe*, the *Post* begins by focusing attention on the leader that it will eventually present as its preferred choice. In this segment, the *Post* works to establish itself as a credible source of information and to establish a connection with readers. It first quotes a *Post* editorial written prior to the last election to establish an intellectual history of support for the Conservatives. Republishing these statements establishes their importance, accuracy, and applicability, which is then reinforced by the explicit assertion that they “apply as much today as they did in 2008” [P.4]. The *Post* enhances its own credibility with this suggestion of enduring accuracy; it conveys a sense of continuity and historical legacy, and this implication of importance and credibility is extended to the current editorial, thus encouraging readers to also respect these views. Reprising the previous evaluation presents it as a fact: it has ostensibly stood unchallenged in the intervening years and has just received renewed support from the newspaper. This technique grounds the argument in both the past and the present, providing a basis for the later arguments concerning stability and continuity. The extensive examples used to support the claim that Harper has “governed the country well overall” [P.1] further establishes the editorial’s claim to be considered a knowledgeable source. Selecting these statements about Harper and giving them presence [Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 115–16] confirms that both the original and current versions of the editorials understand which issues are important to readers, thus creating a sense that they share a common interest in what is best for the country [Burke, *Rhetoric* 20]. These stated reasons connect readers emotionally with the assessment of good governance by providing concrete examples with which they can identify: Harper “has stuck by Canada’s mission in Afghanistan, provided sound stewardship for the economy ... managed the Quebec

[P.1]On Oct. 8, 2008, six days before the last federal election, we wrote these words about our Prime Minister: “Stephen Harper has governed the country well overall. [P.2]He has stuck by Canada’s mission in Afghanistan, provided sound stewardship for the economy (notwithstanding the inevitable buffeting we [have taken] thanks to Wall Street’s meltdown), managed the Quebec file well, returned Canada-U.S. relations to their normal level of amity, lowered taxes and implemented a number of welcome tweaks to our criminal justice system. [P.3]Most importantly of all, Mr. Harper has avoided the temptation to impose any large-scale Trudeauvian social-engineering schemes on the country.” [P.4]Though written almost three years ago, these words apply as much today as they did in 2008. [P.5]Despite opposition efforts to present Mr. Harper as a radical, his tenure as prime minister — which now extends more than five years — actually has been marked by steadiness and constancy.

file well, returned Canada-U.S. relations to their normal level of amity ... and implemented a number of welcome tweaks to our criminal justice system” [P.2, my emphasis]. The positive descriptions attached to these actions encourage readers to adopt similar attitudes. At the same time, they highlight the desired characteristics of a good leader in Canada, both in 2008 and 2011. The implied warrant is that a leader must be tenacious, a peace-maker, fiscally prudent, able to balance competing interests, and fair, values that are assumed to be shared by readers. These traits of a good leader are amplified in the next sentences, with the statement that Harper has “avoided the temptation to impose large-scale Trudeauvian social-engineering schemes” [P.3]. The underlying belief is that a good leader is moderate and does not take the easy route, but rather does what is best for the country. In other words, a good leader embraces his principles and values. This good leader, as the editorial sums up, is steady and constant – the embodiment of the underlying shared value of stability. These appeals to pathos and ethos are designed to entice readers into the argument by showing that the editorial shares their concerns and values and can comment knowledgeably on these issues. At the same time, the extensive list of reasons detailing specific policies and issues covers a wide range that should theoretically include at least one or two items that are of specific interest to readers.

The argument’s logical aspect incorporates both a locus of quantity, as demonstrated in the value accorded to longevity, and one of acceptance that the normal or common is preferable to exceptions (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 97). The complimentary assessment of Harper has endured for three years, and his “tenure,” a term that in itself implies longevity, “now extends more than five years” [P.5]. “Large scale Trudeauvian social-engineering schemes” are best avoided and Canada-U.S. relations have “returned ... to normal” [P.2, P.3]. The large number of examples cited provides strong evidence for the overall favourable assessment; the examples are enhanced by giving readers the opportunity to mentally supply further details on each, and thereby become involved in the argument. These concrete examples – seven in total – are arranged in a hierarchy that introduces the final evaluation with “Most importantly of all” [P.3], implying, by use of this superlative, the corresponding importance of the preceding examples. This argument gains part of its persuasiveness from its steady accumulation of detail and examples (Perelman, *Realm* 37). The final assessment of the Harper record begins with a brief

refutation of anticipatory criticism: “Despite opposition efforts to present Mr. Harper as a radical” [P.5], in effect pre-empting the counter-argument and minimizing it by using the word “despite.” The refutation is intensified by the qualifier “actually,” which implies that the “radical” assessment is far from true. While the preceding positive assessments have been attributed to the newspaper, this criticism is vaguely attributed to “opposition efforts” [P.5], implying a lack of credibility and the ineffectiveness stemming from “efforts.” The editorial uses this strategy of *prolepsis*⁸ to introduce an objection to which it is eager to respond (Perelman, *Realm* 38); this vague criticism of Harper is not only countered, it becomes the basis for a subsequent positive observation.

At times, the editorial conflates the individual leaders, their roles, and their parties, while at other times it carefully separates them. This argument invokes the liaison of co-existence – that actions are the manifestation of the person (Perelman, *Realm* 90). The editorial uses this concept to equate the person with his role as leader and with the party. Ignatieff, Layton, or Harper may be referred to interchangeably with their roles or parties, but some variations achieve specific rhetorical purposes. For example, the editorial refers to “Jack Layton’s NDP” to link Layton closely with his party, and it subsequently separates the two to level the criticism that Layton “has shown himself to be ... sympathetic” [P.26] to Quebec. The editorial argues that the NDP might have been a “safe place ... to park [a] protest vote” [P.26], but that is no longer the case because of Layton’s leanings. Layton’s attitudes as leader are thus invoked to eliminate future support for the party. In contrast, Ignatieff is never explicitly linked with his party, with the result that the editorial suggests the potential of “Mr. Ignatieff to form a government,” an action that could only occur in his role as leader of the Liberal Party. The separation of leader and party is further emphasized in the phrase “rudderless Liberal party in a state of leadership flux” [P.27]. Ignatieff is discounted as a potential leader of the country, just as he is syntactically removed from the leadership of his party. By these subtle methods, the editorial raises questions about these parties and leaders, disqualifying them from consideration as prime ministerial

⁸ This is also referred to as *procatalepsis* and includes anticipating and taking into account points or reasons opposing either the train of thought or its conclusion, thus permitting the argument to move forward (Harris “*Procatalepsis*”).

material. This conflation of man, role, and party is particularly interesting in the portrayal of Harper. The editorial focuses solely on Harper in the initial evidence section that includes the quotation from a previous editorial. Harper is credited with growing Canada's GDP [P.8], he "stood by Israel" [P.11], and he "struck a solid balance" [P.12] between the status quo and ultra-liberal excesses. The presumption supporting this strategy is that the "quality of an act reveals the quality of the person responsible for it" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 70). The inverse is also true. Favourable assessments of legislative and policy initiatives, such as the Afghanistan mission and immigration policy, are transferred to Harper, as he is deemed to be the man deemed responsible. Past actions contribute to the good or bad reputation of the person, and a subsequent favourable or unfavourable disposition towards him or her. This assessment of the person becomes the context within which people interpret all Harper's acts, "attributing to him an intention that conforms to the idea they have of him" (Perelman, *Realm* 93). By creating a favourable disposition towards Harper at the beginning, the editorial paves the way for continued favourable assessments as subsequent issues are introduced. Coincident with this is the concept that past actions predict future actions. Therefore, if Harper has displayed the characteristics of a good leader in the past, it is presumed that he will continue in that manner. This explains the editorial's emphasis on the "record" of a leader or candidate. They are chosen not necessarily as a reward for what they have done, but for the promise that these past actions hold of future performance. However, while much of the focus is on Harper in the early sections of the editorial, this changes in the refutation section where the editorial notes the "things that should change" [P.30] in a re-elected Conservative government. Harper is not named, and criticisms are directed towards the generic "Tories," who "played fast and loose" [P.35] or "failed to provide Parliament with full costing information" [P.36]. This change in reference eliminates what might be considered an argument *ad personam* or *ad hominem*, which focuses on the failings of an opponent rather than the merits of the case, since readers might react negatively to such a personal attack. Criticism of an entity is more readily acceptable and requires less proof than specific criticism of a person, but more significantly, it functions to distance Harper from the actions that are perceived negatively. This eliminates the incompatibility that might result from the criticism and the editorial's promotion of Harper as the best leader.

This focus on leadership is emphasized by summarizing the thesis as a pseudo-question: “who can steer Canada forward” [P.6]. Though the thesis is not phrased interrogatively, posing it this way allows the editorial to lead strategically into the subsequent endorsement. While the editorial is predicated on the need for a strong, stable government to allow the country to progress, it must work to transfer the assumed adherence to that need to its preferred means of reaching its stated end. In other words, it must convince readers that a Conservative majority is the best means. It does this in stages, seeking adherence to interim steps along this path. The initial favourable presentation of Harper is followed by a broader view of the political sphere. Although the editorial levels criticism at the party, it uses this shift in perspective to transfer its expectations for the future to the Tories, and ultimately to urge readers to vote Conservative. By choosing to focus on the question of “who can steer Canada forward” in its thesis, the editorial “draws the attention of the audience” to the issue of leadership, and “gives [leadership] a presence that prevents [it] from being neglected” (Perelman, *Realm* 35). Leadership is the underlying principle in the initial paragraphs that assemble, through examples, the traits of a good leader, and, by extension, of a good government. Contained mainly in the warrants, the implied characteristics that are derived from the positive assessment of Harper’s leadership include tenacity, fiscal astuteness, balancing of interests, concern for the well-being of all Canadians, and an overall sense of fairness and equality. For the *Post* editorial, these are held together by steadiness and constancy. The thesis is framed to touch readers’ emotional chords by focusing on a person – “who” – as the crux of the issue. This figurative language suggests the role of captain, steering Canada through the rocky shoals of uncertain economic times. Choosing to use the word “uncertain” communicates concern about the future and heightens the importance of the need to find the right person and/or party.

[P.6] The main question in this election is about who can steer Canada forward during uncertain economic times.

However, the editorial is quick to answer its own question. With the issue of leadership posited as a critical consideration, the editorial proposes Harper, with his “record of intelligent, sober leadership”, as its “clear choice” [P.7]. Sentences can be arranged by presenting the known information first, with the new or contestable information following (Kress and Van Leeuwen 181). This sentence is so arranged, and explicitly notes this with the use of the word

“given,” to indicate that Harper’s record of good leadership is a known factor; his “record of intelligent, sober leadership” is therefore presented with the strength of fact. No reasons are provided; the statement relies on the reader’s knowledge, whether pre-existing or derived from the opening paragraphs. While the endorsement statement provides a positive reason, it also affords support by devaluing the other potential leaders. The vague reference to “many question marks” [P.7] associated with the opponents secures the statement’s effect, not only by implying quantity, but because its vagueness eliminates any substantive rebuttal or rejection. The endorsement also

[P.7] **Given Mr. Harper’s record of intelligent, sober leadership, and the many question marks associated with his opponents, his Conservatives are our clear choice in Monday’s election.**

incorporates comparison in its argument: Harper’s solid record is juxtaposed with the “many questions” surrounding his opponents, a contrast that positions Harper’s Conservatives as the obviously better choice to ensure stability. The implied warrant behind this claim is that a good leader demonstrates intelligent and sober handling of issues through his past actions. Canadians generally prefer to stay with the tried and true, rather than risk the unknown that could lead to dreaded instability. This statement allows a reader to interpret these references in a number of ways, thus increasing the emotional connection to the importance of this choice. In the final phrase containing the explicit endorsement, the editorial relies on the ethos it has established in its opening paragraphs to encourage readers to accept the endorsement. The editorial frames this endorsement as “our clear choice,” indicating that this is a considered decision and one that has not been made lightly. The statement’s strength relies on the concise and specific wording that specifies the leader, the party, and the event: “Monday’s election.” In addition, the use of the pronoun “our” suggests numerical strength. At the very least, this indicates that the editorial, and presumably, the paper, arrived at this decision together; it is not the solitary opinion of one writer, as “I” would indicate. Nor is it distanced by use of the passive, as evidenced by the wording, “The clear choice is...” [P.44]. As noted earlier, the focus shifts from Harper and his leadership traits at the beginning of the editorial to its final admonition to “vote Conservative.” In this first endorsement statement, which relies on the aspect of co-existence, the editorial begins this transference. The sentence begins with a reference to “Mr. Harper’s leadership,” but the following independent clause refers to “his Conservatives.” Using the pronoun directly

connects Harper to the Conservatives, even as it inserts a modicum of distance. The editorial anticipates that the favourable feelings that result from considering Harper's leadership abilities will be transferred to the party that he heads.

This endorsement statement is the first and lengthiest of three. The editorial's endorsement gains strength by the force of repetition and by its placement at intervals throughout the editorial, as noted in chapter 2. The editorial's suggestion that voters should support Harper and the Conservatives becomes progressively stronger and more defined. The endorsement that the Conservatives are "our clear choice" becomes a need for a majority before it becomes a final, direct entreaty to vote for them, though it is there phrased as a wish: "if the Tories do win a majority – as we hope they do ..." [P.40]. It expresses approval and, indirectly at least, that there is a standard to be met (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 160). The use of repetition and the manner in which the argument is scaffolded shifts the assumed support for the end – a stable government – to the preferred means: generating sufficient votes to ensure a Conservative majority in Parliament. The editorial explicitly links these two when it says, "And so the only way we can guarantee stability is if the Tories win at least 155 seats" [P.29]; this statement additionally relies on reader background knowledge to understand that the number represents a majority of the seats in the 308-seat legislature. The endorsements incorporate both ethical and pathetic appeals. As noted previously, readers will be more inclined to consider the editorial's viewpoint if they trust that the newspaper's perspective is valid. These endorsements portray an increasing sense of urgency as they develop. The editorial describes in detail the depressing vision of anarchy that will ensue, "if the Tories do not get a majority" [P.27], and the majority result is portrayed as the "only way" [P.29] to guarantee stability – the value that is shared by editorial and readers alike.

After outlining its thesis and endorsement statement, the editorial offers additional evidence to bolster its stance. These claims are presented as a collection of reasons that support the earlier claim that "Stephen Harper has governed the country well overall" [P.1]. The examples cover a range of areas – GDP, foreign missions, U.S. relations, and immigration. While the events are factual, the reader is required to supply the information to augment the judgment that our contribution in Afghanistan was effective and honourable [P.9] or that the "moral

relativism” [P.10] of previous eras has been purged. The list’s coverage of social policy and immigration praises Harper for a “solid balance” [P.12] and “sensible changes” [P.13]. These appeals are primarily pathetic, drawing on a sense of pride in how Harper and the country perform on the world stage. Yet there is an element of epideictic rhetoric in the praise for Harper, for the solid and sensible leadership he has shown. The breadth of the issues that are considered demonstrates the knowledge and expertise of the editorial writer and, by extension, the newspaper, augmenting ethos. Although Harper has already been singled out as the clear choice to “steer Canada” in the years ahead, the warrants implied by these examples delineate yet more aspects of a good leader: He (or she) has many skills. He or she can establish good relations with neighbours while leading the country to a strong world presence. This ideal leader likewise balances the interests of various segments of society. Elements of the status quo must be protected, but at the same time, he or she should not hesitate to abolish “excesses such as the Court Challenges Program” [P.12] that funded legal challenges of language and equality rights guaranteed under Canada’s Charter. The valorized trait underscoring this claim is that a good leader balances the rights of all members of society. The editorial also relies on claims supported by reasons to show the “sensible changes” [P.13] that the Harper government has implemented in Canada’s immigration policy, highlighting the underlying value that Canadians recognize that immigrants contribute needed employable skills as well as various cultural attributes that foster Canadians’ idealized conception of their country as a mosaic, though not to the detriment of its citizens. Although these are presented logically and accompanied by stated reasons, the subject is expected to stir an emotional response in many readers, whether they are immigrants themselves or native-born citizens who have had various

[P.8]Under Mr. Harper, Canadian GDP growth has been among the strongest of all developed nations. [P.9]We have contributed effectively and honourably to the mission in Afghanistan, and even stood with our allies in confronting Muammar Gaddafi in Libya. [P.10]The anti-Americanism that infected the Liberal government during the Chrétien and Martin eras is gone — as is the moral relativism that sometimes was the reality behind their “soft power” dogmas. [P.11]In particular, Mr. Harper has stood by Israel in times of crisis, including at the United Nations.

[P.12]On social policy, meanwhile, Mr. Harper has struck a solid balance between maintaining sound elements of the status quo — such as gay marriage — while stripping away ultra-liberal excesses such as the Court Challenges Program.

[P.13]His government has made sensible changes to our immigration policy, which now emphasizes marketable skills over family reunification. [P.14]And the new Citizenship Guide more accurately reflects the process of integration and respect for Western cultural values that we expect of new immigrants.

positive experiences with immigrants. By portraying Harper as a leader who looks out for the interests of all factions, the editorial further encourages readers to subscribe to its pleas to support him. By invoking readers' values in the assessment that this is what "we expect of new immigrants," the editorial enhances both its ethos and an emotional connection with readers.

Following this evidence delineating Harper as a leader who embodies valued traits, the editorial pauses to provide the context and the importance of the decision facing readers in this particular election. This takes the form of deliberative discourse in which the editorial considers the best course of action for Canada. The claim that Canada needs "steady leadership" [P.15] is backed by reasons showing the potential for unrest in Quebec and the disruption that can result from a minority government. Stability has been presented as a highly valued concept, which is in jeopardy if the Parti Québécois wins or a minority government is elected. This warrant draws on the basic values of fairness and equity. Readers want fair representation for every province, but do not want one province to control Parliament. The use of emotive words such as "separatist agitation" [P.16], "vulnerable," and "regional blackmail" [P.17] underscores the importance of the need to elect a strong, steady leader. The leader's key role is further enhanced in the final contextual statement. The majority is compared to the one that "Jean Chrétien" required to establish the conditions under which the federal government would negotiate secession by one of the provinces. The potential confrontation is portrayed as a head-to-head battle between the federal leader and PQ leader Pauline Marois. Because these potential constitutional and provincial confrontations cut to the heart of the democratic country as it exists, they inevitably provoke strong emotions in readers. At the same time, the editorial's thoughtful and insightful analysis increases its credibility and lays the groundwork that renders readers more receptive to the subsequent repetition of the Conservative endorsement.

[P.15]Canada needs steady leadership in the years ahead – and not just because of the fragile global economy. [P.16]In Quebec, the Parti Québécois has a good chance to win Quebec's next provincial election, bringing with it the prospect of fresh separatist agitation. [P.17]The last three minority governments all have shown us that a Parliament sitting at the Bloc Québécois' pleasure is a Parliament vulnerable to regional blackmail. [P.18]Canada needs a strong majority – of the sort Jean Chrétien had when he gave us the Clarity Act – to face down the stream of demands that PQ leader Pauline Marois promises will emit from Quebec City if she becomes premier.

The editorial strengthens its argument by painting a dystopian portrait of what will happen “if Mr. Harper does not receive a majority” [P.20], relying on a cause-and-effect strategy to expose the “destabilizing” influence that will occur in the event of a minority government. By illustrating the predicted result through scenarios, the possibility becomes more concrete (Perelman, *Realm* 106), thus amplifying the emotional appeal. The predicted political manoeuvres constitute a convoluted and complex combination of statements of fact and speculation. The editorial invokes ethos to support this version of events when it says “we believe” statements by Ignatieff [P.21]. This adds credence to Ignatieff’s quote that readers might otherwise be inclined to discount and encourages them to consider the possible effects of the chaos thus projected. This section’s syntax and writing style mimics the complexity of the situation itself. Ignatieff’s paraphrased words include a number of negative phrases – “will not form a coalition,” “all bets are off,” or “vote down a minority” [P.21, 22] – that force readers to slow down in order to mentally unpack them. While the editorial questions the definition of “coalition” [P.24], the conclusion is that whatever it is called, the result will be destabilizing if Gilles Duceppe holds the balance of power. The circumlocution of the prose mirrors the convoluted process that could ensue following the election if no majority government is elected. The predicted instability contravenes readers’ presumed adherence to the value of stability in government.

[P.19]Only the Tories are in a position to achieve such a majority.

[P.20]If Mr. Harper does not receive a majority, the result could be destabilizing for Canada. [P.21]We believe Michael Ignatieff when he says that he will not form a coalition to immediately seize power following Monday’s election. [P.22]But, as he candidly and correctly noted in a CBC interview, all bets are off if the opposition parties subsequently vote down a Tory minority government in a confidence vote. [P.23]The Governor-General then could permit Mr. Ignatieff to form a government with the formal or informal support of the BQ. [P.24]Whether such an arrangement amounts to a “coalition” in a narrow sense is immaterial so long as the resulting hodge-podge is a creature of Gilles Duceppe’s co-operation. [P.25]To add another layer of uncertainty, there is no guarantee that Mr. Ignatieff would even lead such a quasi-coalition government: Recent poll results suggest that Jack Layton’s NDP might win more seats than the Liberals. [P.26]While the NDP once might have seemed like a safe place for disaffected voters to park their protest vote, that is no longer the case — especially since Mr. Layton has shown himself to be alarmingly sympathetic to the power-grab demands of Quebec nationalists during this campaign. [P.27]In other words, if the Tories do not get a majority, we could end up with a government led by quasi-separatist socialists, propped up by full-blown separatists and leavened by a rudderless Liberal party in a state of leadership flux. [P.28]No one has any real idea what such a government would look like.

The dire outlook envisioned by the *Post* should the Tories not achieve a majority government is summed up in the final paragraph, in which the editorial focuses on the opposition between appearance and reality. By using the term “quasi,” the editorial reinforces its preceding discussion that the concept of coalition is disputable. Similarly, subsequent references to “quasi-separatist socialists” and “full-blown separatists” [P.27] point out the absence of the true or authentic states (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 437). In contrast to the Conservatives and their sober, steady leadership, the Liberals are described as “rudderless” and in a state of “leadership flux.” [P.27]. This accumulation of detail supports the assertion that “no one has any real idea” [P.28] what that government would look like. This argument is based on a negative depiction of cause-and-effect. It relies primarily on emotion for its impact – indeed, it could be described as a form of fear-mongering – by presenting the worst possible case scenario. The underlying warrants can be phrased as a type of syllogism: instability in government is bad; minority governments are unstable; therefore, minority governments are bad. The factual grounds detailing Parliamentary procedures are used to connect the cause and effects of a lack of a majority. Words such as “seize power,” “formal or informal support,” and “resulting hodge-podge” [P.21, 23, 24] suggest the warrant that this is not how parliamentary democracy should function, and that such a situation would not contribute to the value of stability that the editorial and newspaper espouse. This depiction of a country in disarray again offends the underlying shared value of stability, thus persuading readers to ensure it does not happen. The editorial expresses this value of stability in its subsequent endorsement: “And so the only way we can guarantee stability is if the Tories win at least 155 seats” [P.29], which, as noted earlier, requires readers to contribute their understanding that this would constitute a majority in the 308-seat House. This claim is a restatement of the original endorsement; it provides emphasis through repetition even as it becomes more explicit. The unstated warrant is that if Canadians want stability, they must vote for the Conservatives. This completes some of the previously unstated warrants or beliefs that readers do not want Duceppe as leader, they do not want Layton, they do not want Ignatieff, so they need to vote Tory to guarantee stability. The frequency of the endorsement

[P.29] **And so the only way we can guarantee stability is if the Tories win at least 155 seats.**

statements also serves to involve readers who can supply details and make connections to determine the subtle shift in the phrasing and what that means to them.

Although the editorial supports the shared value of stability and promotes the Tories as the only means to achieve that end, it does not hesitate to address the Tories' shortcomings. It suggests that, despite the "need" for stability, the Tories are not perfect and must make some changes, a claim supported by numerous examples that combine factual examples that reflect the editorial's judgment of them based on the newspaper's perceived values. Spending "has ballooned" [P.31] under the Tories, a vivid metaphor that incorporates the increase's perceived excess. Further, the examples rely on a number of shared values and beliefs: fiscal restraint and the need to represent all members of society (not catering to special interest groups with "populist doodads" [P.32]), and to practise moderation rather than enact "draconian" [P.34] crime legislation measures. While these have a logical appeal because they are supported by reasons, their appeal is largely pathetic because they touch the basic values that readers are assumed to hold. The implication that a government that contravenes these values does not deserve support aligns the editorial with its readers. However, the editorial adds to its ethos because it is astute enough to recognize these failings and brave enough to criticize the Conservatives. This fairness serves to eliminate any charge of partisanship and makes the opinions expressed by the editorial, in particular the endorsement, more persuasive.

Establishing ethos can, however, have unexpected effects. The evidence to support the call for a softer version of the tough-on-crime initiatives utilizes a quoted source – one of the *Post's* columnists, Conrad Black. The quotation that the legislation is "more spiteful than

[P.30]The need for stability notwithstanding, there are certain things that should change, however. [P.31]Spending has ballooned under the Tories — only some of which can be blamed on the perceived need for stimulus that emerged in the wake of the 2008 U.S.-epicentred financial meltdown. [P.32]The Tories have embraced protectionism on politically sensitive files (such as potash), maintained the statist status quo on health care and have injected countless populist doodads into their budgets. [P.33]A re-elected Conservative government, sitting as a majority, must trim spending and move aggressively to reduce the deficit. [P.34]It should also revisit its more draconian tough-on-crime initiatives — some of which, as *National Post* columnist Conrad Black has noted, seem more spiteful than sensible. [P.35]It is also true that the Tories have played fast and loose with Parliamentary disclosure rules. [P.36]While the recent contempt of Parliament ruling was a partisan stunt, there was substance to the underlying allegation that the Tories failed to provide Parliament with full costing information on their signature programs. [P.37]The Tories came to power with promises of greater accountability in Ottawa. [P.38]If anything, they have given us less. [P.39]That, too, must change.

sensible” [P.34] is apt, but the persuasive value of a source or expert supporting a claim relies on the perceived credibility of that source. In this case, the editorial builds on the link between the paper and the columnist, allowing the credibility of one to transfer to the other. However, at the same time, the public’s acceptance of Black’s credibility might be questioned, given his own personal involvement with legal proceedings. Readers who have strong feelings about Black may not accept this opinion as readily as the editorial envisions.

But the editorial does not shy away from further criticism of the Tories and the way they tampered with the free flow of information. This charge focuses on transparency and accountability, two important hallmarks of democratic government. To accuse a government of contravening these concepts is a serious accusation. Rather than level a generalized criticism concerning freedom of information, the claim refers to the specific incidence of less than full disclosure with respect to “signature programs” [P.36]. While the basic information can be supplemented with reader background knowledge, this information would not be disputed, nor would the subsequent statement that “the Tories came to power with promises of greater accountability” [P.37]. The editorial makes it clear that the Tories have failed to live up to their promises and warns that they “must change” [P.39]. Readers expect governments or leaders to be bound by their promises. By implication, the warrant implies that anything that falls short of openness and accountability in government is associated with dictatorships and other less-favoured forms of governance. These are bread-and-butter values of Canada as a democratic nation, and ones that the paper supports as much as its readers do. The editorial enhances its ethos throughout by demonstrating its extensive knowledge of issues and events and its reasoned treatment of them. However, it is interesting to note which issues are not raised here. While the editorial chastises the government for playing “fast and loose” with Parliamentary disclosure rules concerning programs [P.35], it does not mention other well-known criticisms such as the abuse of prorogation or other attempts to stop debate and free expression, both of which are mentioned in the *Globe* editorial. By choosing to chastise the government on this important, but not critical, issue, the *Post* appears to be non-partisan and independent, while it is, in essence, choosing the least negative issues in order to portray the government as favourably as it conceivably can.

The editorial utilizes this final evidence section to propose some future agenda items for the Tories, should they be returned with a majority. It can thus advance these as issues of concern, both to the editorial and the public, even as it puts the government on notice that it will continue to monitor its performance. These issues are simply listed, requiring readers to help create the argument by supplying the reasons they are important and how they uphold their basic shared values. The final point in the editorial concerns health care, an area that is arguably of concern to virtually all readers. The proposed reform of the Canada Health Act responds to an issue alluded to earlier in the critique that the Tories had “maintained the statist status quo on health care” [P.32]. Although the Conservatives have “discouraged private health options,” the editorial predicts that Canadians are ready for a “mixed system of public and private health care” [P.41, 42]. The implied warrant is that these will create a better and stronger country – at least in the considered opinion of the editorial and the *National Post*. The *Post* assumes that readers subscribe to these values and aspirations for a better country, and is making an argument about how to achieve that end. In doing so, the editorial draws on reader desire for progress as well as for stability. It provides strong reasons why this is the time for action. A majority Tory government will be able to “push forward on projects that proved impossible in a minority government” [P.40]. These are “not radical projects, but overdue changes” [P.43]. Given its constant promotion of stability and constancy, the editorial must make it clear that these projects do not offend those principles but are, in fact, welcome and “overdue” adjustments [P.43]. The editorial argues that change can be valuable, both for the country and for the good of the people, and that these modifications could have been implemented, but for the “bickering parties locked in a minority Parliament” [P.43]. The editorial uses this sense of *kairos* – the opportune time-to-act – to add

[P.40]If the Tories do win a majority — as we hope they do — we also hope that they push forward on projects that proved impossible in a minority government, including eliminating per-vote financial subsidies for political parties, phasing out the long-gun registry and initiating Senate reform. [P.41]We also urge the next government to finally and decisively reject the strict interpretation of the Canada Health Act that, until now, has discouraged private health options in this country. [P.42]Canadians are ready for a European-style mixed system of public and private health care.

[P.43]These are not radical projects, but overdue changes that have been stymied by bickering parties locked in a minority Parliament. [P.44]The time has come to break this logjam, WHICH IS WHY WE URGE OUR READERS TO VOTE CONSERVATIVE ON MAY 2.

urgency to its endorsements and call-to-action. On Monday, voters will have the opportunity to “break this logjam” [P.44] and ensure future stability and progress.

By establishing the desired end and the preferred means to achieve it, the editorial establishes a strong basis for its concluding call-to-action that provides the explicit direction to “vote Conservative on May 2.” Argumentation is not only designed to create or increase reader acceptance of a stance, but sets in motion the intended action or at least creates a willingness to act which will appear at the right moment (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 45). For Canada in 2011, that time is fast approaching; the *Post* editorial, with its numerous endorsement statements and reasoned arguments, works to create this willingness in readers. The final sentence combines *kairos*, the time has come, with the call-to-action, thus linking the urgency and the action. By directly specifying the action and the date, the editorial provides readers with the knowledge they need to carry their adherence to the final step. To increase readers’ anticipated adherence, the editorial builds up its emotional impact as it nears the end. After the convoluted and fear-mongering description of the chaos predicted with yet another minority government, the refutation section quickly presents criticism and examples in a constant flow. By returning to the vision for the future, the editorial resurrects the strong emotions generated earlier by referring to the means – electing the Tories – to achieve the desired end. This creates another link with readers who realize the urgency and the personal value involved in the editorial’s stance. This alignment of the interests of editorial and readers is reinforced by the call-to-action that “we urge our readers” [P.44] to vote. By establishing a feeling of personal connection with the outcome and invoking the credibility it has established, the editorial can urge its readers to take action. The precision of the request echoes the focus of the overall argumentation strategy: one means, one endpoint, and one clear-cut direction of how to link the two.

Discussion

The *National Post* provides a strong endorsement and call-to-action in “Still Right for Canada: Stephen Harper’s Conservatives are the Clear Choice in Uncertain Times.” Published four days before voters head to the polls, the editorial urges its readers to vote for Conservative candidates. Stability, both in politics and the economy, is the overarching value that it promotes

– instability is the specter at the door. The editorial argues that only strong, steady leadership can help Canada negotiate the economic and political uncertainties it faces, and it clarifies for readers that this steady leadership will only be achieved if they vote for the Conservatives in the fast-approaching election.

The *Post* editorial provides strong and extensive logical reasoning to convince readers of the validity of its viewpoint. Its editorial strategy invokes the structure of reality by relating the means – vote Conservative to elect a Tory majority – to the desired end of a stable and progressive nation. The comprehensiveness and breadth of the examples chosen provide explicit and strong support for the editorial’s recommendation to vote Conservative. These quasi-logical appeals are strengthened with appeals to ethos and pathos to gain and increase reader support for the opinions expressed. By invoking the shared value of stability (and the dystopian view of instability), the editorial creates a connection with readers that makes them more receptive to the editorial’s stance. This shared world view similarly enhances the editorial’s ethos by demonstrating that the *Post* is aware of, and knowledgeable about, issues that are important to readers; their assessment of the editorial as a competent and insightful political commentator serves to help move them along the continuum from consideration, to support, to taking the ultimate action. The multiple endorsement statements – and the use of *kairos* or time-to-act to stress the urgency – spur readers to transform adherence into action.

The inherent logical appeal of the *Post* editorial underscores it as an example of deliberative discourse. The *Post* explores the possibilities for Canada in the future, as evidenced by its thesis asking “who can steer Canada forward during uncertain economic times.” This focus on the future is further emphasized later in the editorial when it suggests legislative actions that the next government should undertake. Yet the editorial also includes a consideration of the actions of the Tories in an example of forensic rhetoric. They are accused of playing “fast and loose” with Parliamentary disclosure rules. Although there are other accusations, the editorial excuses the Conservatives with a warning that they must change. The *Post* also employs the third type of rhetoric – epideictic – when it praises Harper for his “intelligent, sober leadership” [P.7]. By contrast, the opposition leaders such as Marois are described as demanding and Layton is accused of being “alarmingly sympathetic” to the demands of Quebec [P.18, 26]. At the same

time, praising or blaming candidates on a personal basis creates an emotional appeal that allows readers to connect with and sympathize with the views presented. The combination of types of rhetoric and appeals creates a richer argument for the *Post*.

The *Post* presents readers with an editorial dense with evidence and references to government actions. Despite some criticisms of the Tories, it provides a positive endorsement for a renewed mandate, utilizing logical appeals enhanced by ethos and pathos. However, the *Toronto Star* editorial takes a different argumentative approach to arrive at a different assessment of the election choices.

3.2.3 *Toronto Star 1*

The First Installment: *Turning Disappointment into Dis-endorsement*

The *Toronto Star*'s editorial "The Election Choice: No New Mandate for Conservatives," provides a different approach to the endorsement editorial. Rather than indicating its support for a party and/or leader, the *Star* publishes what I describe as a "dis-endorsement" editorial. The editorial presents a sustained argument opposing Harper and the Conservatives. The editorial argues that the Conservative government has "disappointed" [ST1.20] Canadians and advises readers, in its final sentence, that the Harper Conservatives "do not deserve a renewed mandate" [ST1.41]. While it is unusual to leave readers on a negative note without any positive guidance, this editorial constitutes only half of the *Star*'s editorial stance. The tag line at the bottom: "Saturday: The alternative in Monday's election" [ST1.42], provides a teaser to spark reader interest in the next day's editorial. After considering the argumentative strategies employed by each, I consider their interaction. The editorials are identified as *Star 1* and *Star 2* for the sake of clarity and in recognition of the order of their appearance.

The *Star 1* editorial, "The Election Choice: No New Mandate for Conservatives," leads the reader through a survey of the performance of the Conservatives during the five years that have passed since their first mandate. But the argumentative strategy leaves much unstated, relying on readers to supply information and help construct the argument. This subtle and

understated discussion reveals the editorial's stance gradually; it is not explicitly revealed until the final pronouncement. The negative claims about the Conservatives contribute to the growing sense of the editorial's disdain for the party, but the strength of this disdain becomes readily apparent only in the final sentence with the recommendation that the Conservatives should not be returned to office. This rhetorical strategy is not, in itself, unusual; however, simply arguing *against* a party or leader in an endorsement editorial is a relatively rare occurrence, given the definition of endorsement as approval or support. Of particular interest in this example of argument is the frequent use of enthymeme, a rhetorical structure in which information is implied rather than explicitly stated. As discussed earlier, the enthymeme involves an argument in which one of the premises is unstated, forcing readers to construct part of the argument. The underlying assumption is that writer and reader share enough values to allow readers to supply the missing elements. Forcing readers to supply information is persuasive because doing so helps to convince them of the argument's efficacy; when readers become invested in the argument, they are more likely to agree with its eventual conclusion. As part of the use of enthymeme, this editorial incorporates strong appeals to pathos and ethos as it seeks to move readers in this new argumentative direction.

The *Star* grounds its argument within the democratic values of Canada and Canadians which uphold the principle that governance is by electoral victory, rather than by force. The *Star* I editorial reinforces these underlying values by its support of the electoral process and its implied support that voting is the way to remove a bad government, as opposed to protests or more violent means. Within this accepted framework, the *Star*'s editorial can voice serious discontent with the existing government, to the point where its dis-endorsement editorial advocates against returning that government to power. In this particular case, the exigence that this editorial can address is particularly pressing in the newspaper's view because this is the time in a democratic system when it is both appropriate, and indeed expected, that the government can be changed peacefully, as envisioned in the parliamentary process. The *Star* 1 editorial seizes this opportunity by writing two editorials that first detail its disillusionment with the current regime, and then proposes a surprising alternative.

This *Star* I editorial seeks to “elicit or increase the adherence” of its readers to this thesis (Perelman, *Realm* 9). However, to gain this support, the editorial must first establish common ground with its readers before it attempts to move them towards accepting its viewpoint. Within this assumed support for democracy, practices such as governmental openness and accountability, social responsibility, and inclusiveness are ancillary democratic values that the editorial assumes that its readers share. In order to move readers along the road to rejecting the incumbent government, the *Star* incorporates appeals to both pathos and ethos, to increase adherence to its logical appeals that argue this is not the way good government operates. Combining these appeals creates a persuasive argument for readers to abandon the Tories in the upcoming election. As one of the foundational values of its argument, the *Star* 1 editorial draws on a vision of Canada of the future, “five and 10 years down the road” [ST1.36]. The editorial describes a “bold vision of a better Canada” [ST1.36] that is progressive, both at home and abroad. This government is inclusive, concerned about the interests of citizens, pro-active, financially solid, and takes a “progressive, constructive role in international affairs” [ST1.23]. However, the ruling Conservatives have failed to create this desirable form of government. They have “disappointed” [ST1.20] these expectations.

As its point of departure, the *Star* grounds this editorial with facts that are not open to dispute. The editorial positions its discussion by referring to the previous election campaign: “Two-and-a-half years ago, when Stephen Harper was seeking his second mandate from Canadian voters ...” [ST1.1]. Similarly, it refers to the information that this government has been in power for “more than five years” with “two minority Parliaments” [ST1.5]. These facts provide readers with background and with points of basic agreement while also establishing the editorial’s credibility. Errors in essential information would undermine the ethos of the editorial, particularly at this initial stage, and limit potential acceptance of the opinions presented. Although other facts are woven into this introductory section, their interpretation and evaluation lays the groundwork of support for the disapproval

[ST1.1]Two-and-a-half years ago, when Stephen Harper was seeking his second mandate from Canadian voters, some of those inclined to support him and his Conservatives were seduced by the hope that he would grow in office. [ST1.2]He might seem mean-spirited and divisive, they argued, but give him another chance. [ST1.3]The sobering exercise of power would surely shape him into a more mature, more inclusive leader.

that subsequently emerges. To support this thesis and prepare readers for the eventual dis-endorsement, this lengthy evidence section relies on establishing and reinforcing political values that it would consider “common values” among its readers (Perelman, “Theory” 1394). The political and economic standards that emerge include democratic reform principles; the desire for a “progressive, constructive role in international affairs”; fiscal responsibility; the importance of social and economic equality; a strong economy; and a benevolent, but not intrusive, role of government in the lives of the citizens. These concrete values (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 15-27) are not universal, but specific to Canadians and the current Canadian political landscape. Their selection from among many alternatives and their inclusion in the editorial gives them “presence” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 115–17), indicating that the editorial considers them particularly important at this point in the country’s history, and that these values are also valorized by Canadian readers. Universal values are also inherent in the *Star* 1 editorial, such as the concepts of good and bad, and the desire for progress or continuing to achieve. In providing its interpretation of the existing political landscape, the editorial illustrates how the previous government, headed by Harper, has deviated from these socially accepted values that the editorial assumes its readers largely endorse.

The *Star* I editorial employs argumentation establishing the structure of reality by using extensive examples highlighting governmental actions. Although they are framed using judgment and evaluation, the reasons are often left unstated to allow readers to supply them. Through accumulation and comparison, these wide ranging, extensive examples develop the argument. However, the opening paragraphs are dominated by pathetic appeals involving Harper’s leadership attributes or characteristics, personal characteristics that readers recognize and can disapprove of. Describing Harper as having been “mean-spirited and divisive” [ST1.2] in the past directs reader attention to characteristics they would not want, either personally or in a leader. The editorial begins to build its ethos as a fair and unbiased observer of the situation by attributing these comments to “some of those inclined to support him and his Conservatives” [ST1.1]. Although critical, these comments also include the “hope” of improvement and progress – the belief that the Conservatives “would grow in office” [ST1.1]. Reasons supporting this claim take the form of paraphrased quotations from this group of unknown and unnamed voters.

Although Harper “might seem mean-spirited and divisive,” this group sees redemption after the election, inferring that the “sobering exercise of power” might “shape him into a more mature, more inclusive leader” [ST1.3]. These claims leave unstated the reasoning behind them – that the role of leader of the country requires maturity, that people grow into their jobs, and that they deserve the benefit of the doubt. Underlying them is the universal belief that people are inherently good (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 95) and that they can change and improve; in other words, a positive outlook on the human spirit.

While the editorial bases its grounds partly on the quotation’s credibility, this “quote” is, for all intents and purposes, a construct of the editorial writer or board based on a composite assessment of voter feelings. This method of phrasing the critique and thought processes allows the ideas to be introduced, but it also allows the editorial to create some distance between itself and that negative opinion even as it increases its ethos and identification with readers. The editorial can introduce this negative assessment, and, in the process of supplying the examples to support it, allow readers to become invested in it, but it also uses this reported speech to divide them. The group created is “some of those inclined to support him” [ST1.1], those who believed that he would grow and mature in office. Others who supported him, by default, were accepting of these character flaws. Opposing both of these groups is the editorial that, as will be revealed, realizes that these are fatal character flaws that will not improve or disappear. Readers are implicitly invited to choose a side: they can be the type of person who accepts meanness and divisiveness as acceptable traits in a leader, or they can be those who discovered their belief in redemption was unfounded. Either group’s acceptance of these traits is implicitly portrayed as a position contrary to the beliefs of most Canadians; readers are manipulated to want to identify with the editorial, rather than with the “others,” and, by extension, its viewpoints [Burke, *Rhetoric* 20].

The expressed hope that the Conservatives would grow in power is dashed using the curt statement, “so much for that” [ST1.4]. The third group, which includes the editorial, has seen through Harper and the Conservatives and knows that they are not good people,

[ST1.4]So much for that.
[ST1.5]Canadians have now had more than five years to see the Harper Conservatives in action, constrained only by having to navigate the shoals of two minority Parliaments.

and thus have no possibility of redemption. With no reasons provided, readers are forced to consider recent actions and draw a conclusion. The editorial relies on the loci of quantity, the five-year period, to show that these characteristics have existed for a lengthy period and can therefore be expected to endure. This invites readers to think about a wide range of actions and policies that have occurred during the Conservatives' two preceding mandates. This is an open-ended allusion that allows readers to focus on their knowledge of a myriad of actions and policies while also providing the base of longevity to the subsequent argument. These comments are not based on an isolated instance, but rather, on a lengthy period of governance; those who believed in redemption have been duped.

By assigning negative connotations to other groups – those who agree with meanness and those who were fooled – readers are expected to choose not to belong to either. Thus, the editorial encourages readers to join its group – those clear-sighted enough to see Harper and the Conservatives for the inept, possibly evil, leaders that they are. The editorial capitalizes on this identification by removing one of the arguments that might be posited: that the Conservatives were “constrained” in their actions because they had to cater to the demands of other parties, given the two minority situations [ST1.5]. With this recognition that minority party situations have “shoals” and can be rocky, the editorial shows that it has considered this and determined it does not offer sufficient excuse for the party's deeds. While the existence of minority governments could be used to overlook some of the actions, the editorial devalues this with the statement that the Conservatives were “only” constrained (as opposed to explicitly prevented), thus reducing their impact upon the party's actions. The underlying presumption is that actions reflect the person's character (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 297) and that judgment must be made on the record of the Conservatives in office.

The subsequent claim about the tenure of the Conservatives is that they “had a choice” [ST1.6]. The claims provide examples of the choices they had; implied in the use of the verb form “could have” is the clear contention that they made the wrong choices. These claims are laced with some facts: “two voters in three did not support

[ST1.6]Throughout, the Conservatives had a choice. [ST1.7]They could have accepted the fact that two voters in three did not support them. [ST1.8]They could have reached out to opponents and sought genuine compromise on tough issues. [ST1.9]They could have tried to unite an electorate fractured among parties and philosophies.

them” and the electorate is “fractured among parties and philosophies” [ST1.7, 9]. Readers must refer to their background knowledge to recall the voting statistics from previous elections, or to consider those situations where the Tories refused compromise on controversial issues. At the same time, the statements are evaluative and based on the concept of co-existence – that actions represent the person (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 293–96) or the party, in this case, and their attitudes. While it suggests that the “Conservatives” are responsible for these actions, by extension, so is the leader. Harper and the Conservatives have not worked to heal rifts within the Canadian context. But even worse, they could have: they had a choice and, by implication, they deliberately chose not to. The Conservatives are given agency as authors of their own plight. This survey’s comprehensive treatment not only demonstrates the extent of the negative actions, it enhances the credibility of the editorial as an informed observer.

The editorial discusses how the Conservatives “could have” acted in a certain manner, but instead “took another path” or made other choices. The claims that follow provide examples – chosen by the editorial to give them presence – to illustrate the Conservatives’ actions. They “doubled down” on the “politics of division,” betrayed or forgot their reform principles, had contempt for Parliament, demonized critics, and shut down legitimate questions [ST1.10–13].

This list uses accretion to support its claim, with the implied warrant that they betray the hallmarks of a democratic government: the more examples of bad governance, the worse the government (Perelman, *Realm* 37). However, these are vague references that rely on readers to supply their own definition of “politics of division” or their own examples of “demonizing critics,” which draws them further along the path into the editorial’s sphere and argument.

[ST1.10]Instead, they took another path.
[ST1.11]They chose to double down on the politics of division. [ST1.12]The second minority Harper government was like the first one — only more so.
[ST1.13]Contempt for Parliament, demonizing critics, shutting down legitimate questions — the sorry litany has become all too familiar. [ST1.14]As with all organizations, the tone is set at the top. [ST1.15]If the guy in charge does not trust others and is terminally suspicious of every contrary view, his government will reflect that.

The severity of the errors is emphasized through statements relying on quantity or comparison (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 242): the second minority government was “more so,” or even worse, than the first in contravening these principles; the Conservatives “doubled

down” on divisive tactics; or the list of faults is “all too familiar” [ST1.11, 13]. The loci of quantity (Perelman, “Theory” 1394) and accumulation bolster their point (Perelman, *Realm* 37). In listing the negative actions, “Contempt for Parliament, demonizing critics, shutting down legitimate questions ...” the editorial deliberately does not use the conjunction “and,” which grammatically implies the end of a list. Instead, the list is interrupted with a dash – giving the sense that the list could continue but has been cut off by the final statement, “the sorry litany has become all too familiar.” Using litany as a metaphor renders these abuses even more vivid to readers, creating a strong personal connection. The term is used figuratively here, since it is commonly known as a form of prayer consisting of a series of petitions or supplications with identical responses. In this situation, it subtly raises the image that Conservatives have sinned by committing these abuses and should be praying for forgiveness. Litany is also used more informally to refer to a prolonged or tedious account. The critique rests on a shared sense of the importance of respecting Parliament and of democratic principles such as transparency and accountability.

These two sections [ST1.6 – ST1.13] demonstrate the strength of the enthymeme for creating a persuasive argument that draws in readers. The claims are presented without the support of stated reasons. The breadth of the issues addressed and the expectation that readers can fill in the missing examples are based on shared, underlying principles of respect for democratic institutions and support for consensus and compromise rather than antagonism in a country such as Canada. The argumentation relies not only on the pathetic appeal, but includes the credibility of the editorial in the sense that it can determine that these issues are important, and that it can refer to them confidently. As this argument progresses, readers find more reasons to identify with the editorial’s position. Although the criticism to this point has been largely directed at the Conservatives as a party, the editorial now brings it back to Harper, reinforcing the criticism of the opening paragraphs. The belief that an organization’s tone is set by the leader is a generally accepted construct in the realms of business and government, and it is consistent with the concept of co-existence: the leader is responsible for the actions of the party and vice versa. Using the conditional form to frame the criticism that “if the guy in charge does not trust others and is terminally suspicious of every contrary view” [ST1.15; my emphasis] allows the

editorial to present the criticism, without necessarily admitting that it originates with the newspaper. The conditional formation allows readers to accept the claim, even if they do not fully subscribe to the evaluation, thus increasing the editorial's ethos.

By framing Harper's un-democratic actions as "ironic" [ST1.16], the editorial presents a logical appeal relying on the difference between appearance and reality. Given his democratic Reform background, Harper should champion democracy. This reference also relies on readers to provide the facts behind this statement regarding the history of the Reform Party (subsequently the Canadian Alliance Party), the

[ST1.16]It is especially ironic that Harper finds himself in this position. [ST1.17]He has betrayed — or perhaps forgotten — the democratic Reform principles that sent him to Ottawa vowing to break up the cozy club of entrenched power brokers. [ST1.18] "You've become what you used to oppose. What happened to you?" the NDP's Jack Layton asked Harper in one of the few memorable moments of the televised leaders' debates. [ST1.19]There was no answer — nor could there be.

Progressive Conservatives, and their eventual merger. The statement that he went to Ottawa "vowing to break up the cozy club of entrenched power brokers" uses the word "vowed" to reinforce the irony that Harper at one time firmly opposed these "power brokers" which he now seems to support [ST1.18]. Further support for this claim comes in the quotation from Layton, and it demonstrates that comparing someone to something which he competes with or opposes is an "effective method for belittling someone" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 244). These grounds rely on the credibility of the source, a federal leader speaking in a televised leaders' debate. That the editorial considers this worth quoting further adds to its credibility. The implied warrant reflects an earlier one, that people can change and improve, or they can regress and acquire less favourable characteristics. However, by becoming what he once opposed, Harper is shown to be a hypocrite, a trait which is not acceptable in a leader. The final comment involves the factual report that "there was no answer" followed by the claim, "nor could there be" [ST1.19]. Readers can supply the implied warrant that actions portray the true picture — a person is what he does, not what he professes to be. This claim thus encompasses all the previously stated reasons and examples of how the Conservatives have failed to embody the readers' values. Although some logical appeals are included, the main appeals work to create a shared, common vision of democratic government and a sense of identification (Burke, *Rhetoric* 55) between the editorial and its readers.

The pathetic appeal is further reinforced by the thesis that “the Harper government has disappointed” [ST1.20] by failing to uphold these shared values. This

[ST1.20] On other issues, the Harper government has disappointed.

thesis, nestled in the centre of the evidence sections detailing the Conservatives’ failings, highlights the focus on an emotional appeal to readers. The editorial has so far outlined the type of democratic government that Canadians expect and, by extension, the corresponding traits of a good leader. However, these expectations have not been met. By engaging readers’ emotions on these issues dealing with rock-solid democratic values, the editorial is creating a sense of common interests that it will subsequently extend to the less personal, but no less important, issues of foreign policy and fiscal policy. These two topics are also addressed in enthymemic structures to allow the editorial to cover them quickly and to present a number of claims showing how the Conservatives have “disappointed” Canadians’ expectations and values. Although there is some reasoning included to support the claims, their breadth and complexity leave much unstated, requiring readers to supply information to justify the claim. These are appeals to readers’ negative emotions. The adjectives and verbs used convey the editorial’s judgment of these actions, and supporting the judgment with details sets readers up to adopt the same conclusion. Foreign policy under the Conservatives has “squandered much of the credibility” [ST1.21] Canada has acquired in the world, and the Conservatives do not envision playing “a progressive, constructive role in international affairs” [ST1.23]. Factual ancillary information mentions closer trade links, opposing apartheid, and, most telling of all, the failure to obtain a seat on the UN Security Council.

Some of these examples are established through comparison. The use of the word “even” suggests that Brian Mulroney was also not inclined to build a strong world presence, a claim supported by the example of creating closer trade links with the United States instead. However, the editorial implies, he was better than Harper, and he at least championed a “clearly distinct role” [ST1.22], implying that the Conservatives have not even achieved this admittedly minimal level. This form of comparison serves to belittle the person (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 244). Comparing the present prime minister and his foreign policy accomplishments to those of a predecessor not known for his stellar performance in the realm of foreign policy effectively

lowers the evaluation. The implied values here are that credibility and a distinct international role for Canada are assumed to be important goals for a government. The ability to praise previous governments, Liberal and Conservative, enhances the editorial's ethos by demonstrating its capacity to provide a non-partisan assessment.

The value of fiscal responsibility, or lack thereof, is similarly argued using enthymemes by listing all the claims and allowing readers to fill in the details on the “expensive ... tough-on-crime agenda,” “pork-barrelling around the G8/G20 summits,” and “a blank cheque for fancy fighter jets” [ST1.24– 26]. Each of these examples invokes a lengthy amount of background knowledge that adds to the strength of the argument. However, even without such background, descriptive words such as “expensive,” “pork-barrelling,” and “blank cheque” support a view of fiscal irresponsibility that counters the values assumed. Similarly, the values of social and economic equality are introduced but not expanded on – relying on the presumption that equality is another abstract and universally endorsed value that needs no justification to be accepted by readers. The editorial uses an argument of loci of quantity in this instance, when it suggests that this inequality has stripped “millions of Canadians” [ST1.27] of possible economic success. The greater the number of people adversely affected, the more reprehensible is the evaluation of the cause (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 86).

[ST1.21]Its foreign policy has squandered much of the credibility that previous Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments built for Canada around the world. [ST1.22]Even Brian Mulroney, while negotiating much closer trade links with the United States, championed a clearly distinct role for this country in such areas as the Middle East and opposing apartheid in South Africa. [ST1.23]The Harper Conservatives seem dismissive of the possibility that Canada could play a progressive, constructive role in international affairs; their failure to obtain a seat on the United Nations Security Council showed that the rest of the world has — sadly — reached a similar conclusion. [ST1.24]At home, it has pushed an expensive and counterproductive tough-on-crime agenda. [ST1.25] Its pork-barrelling around the G8/G20 summits is all too predictable. [ST1.26]Its support for the military has morphed into a blank cheque for fancy fighter jets that we don't need, and will cost many billions more than advertised. [ST1.27]It has presided over growing social and economic inequality, stripping millions of Canadians of any stake in the country's economic success.

As a nod to fairness that simultaneously enhances its ethos, the editorial strives to credit the Conservatives for the strong economy. Inclusion of this positive acknowledgement shows that this assessment is not entirely negative but rather, a balanced and thoughtful assessment. Yet despite the initial nod of approval, the editorial relies on a quasi-logical structure of appearance-

reality to argue that this situation does not stem entirely from the Conservatives' efforts. Through "dissociation" (Perelman, "Theory" 1400), the editorial separates the positive economic achievement from the work of Conservatives to diminish the claim. The "mixed" record can be, and is, attributed to the regulations grudgingly supported by the Tories, but also to previous Liberal governments that "built the firm foundation" [ST1.32]. The implied comparison to the "tough and controversial deficit-fighting work" [ST1.33] of the Liberal predecessors portrays the Conservatives as less fiscally prudent. At the same time, the Conservatives appear dishonest for taking credit for the work of others, contravening a universal belief valuing truth. A prosperous economy is assumed to be valued by readers, as is the democratic ideal that assumes government works for the benefit of its citizens, both socially and economically.

[ST1.28]The Conservatives' strongest suit — their main claim to the "stable" majority government they crave — is the economy. [ST1.29]Voters are rightly relieved that Canada escaped the worst of the global recession. [ST1.30]They should keep in mind that the record is much more mixed. [ST1.31]The Conservatives get credit for the durability of our closely regulated banking system, despite their doubts on regulation. [ST1.32]Just as important, previous governments, most notably those of Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin, built the firm foundation that carried us through. [ST1.33]The Conservatives are riding on the tough and controversial deficit-fighting work of their Liberal predecessors.

As the editorial nears its conclusion, it heightens its appeals by setting out the context of the current election and stressing the importance of the decision facing voters. Emotional appeals are inherent in the choice of words: The Conservatives are making a "claim" for a mandate, thereby implying a desire without any foundation of either entitlement or right; "they crave" implies something desired unreasonably, and sets up the subsequent description of "grasping for the majority mandate" [ST1.28]. The *Star I* editorial implies that the prize may be just out of reach — as it should be. Underlying all these arguments is the socially debated value regarding the role of government — how much it should intercede in the economy and other aspects of governance. Using a cause-and-effect argument, the *Star I* editorial evaluates the election of a Conservative government in terms of its "favourable or unfavourable consequences" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 260). It predicts that a Harper victory would mean "smaller government, a diminished role for Ottawa in national affairs, and a push, if not a lurch, to the right on social issues" [ST1.36]. This list, which builds in importance and length as it progresses, provides illustrations of the anticipated outcomes, but it also relies on

readers to provide concrete examples of how they would be manifested. The structure of cause-and-effect focuses on a cause – returning the Conservatives to power – and on the multiple, negative effects that would ensue. These predictions suggest that voting Conservative would cause Canada to regress, rather than progress, employing an accepted value hierarchy; that progress is preferable, and the higher a country can aim, the better. This type of cause-and-effect argument requires no justification for it to be accepted by readers on the basis of common sense alone (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 260). This quasi-logical argument relies heavily on touching an emotional chord with readers by appealing to their sense of national pride, the value of progress, and the desire for a pro-active government that considers the needs of all citizens. Government can be a positive force in the country – if it so desires. In contrast to the depiction of the existing government, the *Star* I editorial is not arguing for specific policies or legislation, but it does advocate for particular beliefs or values to be embedded in a government: a good government is an active, caring, and inclusive government.

[ST1.34]Harper is now going for broke, grasping for the majority mandate that has twice eluded him. [ST1.35]By now it is clear what that would mean: smaller government, a diminished role for Ottawa in national affairs, and a push, if not a lurch, to the right on social issues. [ST1.36]Above all, it would mean a government that would not propose a bold vision of a better Canada five and 10 years down the road, mainly because it does not believe in such things. [ST1.37]Government as the solution to all problems may be out of date. [ST1.38]But government can still be a vitally relevant part of the solution — if it wants to be.

The editorial's final evidence for its eventual dis-endorsement is framed as a pathetic appeal. The claim that the Conservatives “deliberately chose not to aim high” [ST1.39] refers back to the initial arguments that the Conservatives had a choice and “took another path” [ST1.10]. Contrary to the values of progress and growth, the Harper Conservatives did not “grow in office” [ST1.1] to become more mature and inclusive. Nor are they expected to. However, the claim that they “have diminished themselves and our national politics” [ST1.40] is perhaps the greatest indictment owing to its violation of a belief in national pride. In this editorial, Harper is equated to the actions of the Conservative Party, which is also equated to the actions performed by the government. Harper is initially described as “mean-spirited” and

[ST1.39]The Harper Conservatives deliberately chose not to aim high. [ST1.40]Far from growing in office, they have diminished themselves and our national politics.

“divisive” [ST1.2], attitudinal or personality traits providing a general criticism of a person based on governmental actions. The depiction of what could develop – a “more mature, more inclusive leader” [ST1.3], sets out the ideals of a good leader, at least in the editorial’s view. These traits are not derived from Harper’s personal actions, but rather, from the “Harper Conservatives in action” [ST1.5]. In this argument, the leader becomes synonymous with the party and with government actions through the concept of co-existence which associates a person with his acts (Perelman, “Theory” 1398; Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 60–74). These arguments conflate Harper, the party, and the government’s actions so that a judgment of one transfers to the other, with the result that the subsequent harsh judgments of government policies reflect back on Harper. The party and the leader are also portrayed using the good/bad continuum, with the shared assumption that good is a universally preferred option. The comparison of Tory actions to the values of Canadian society suggests that they have not measured up.

For multiple reasons, the Conservatives do not merit the opportunity to form another government. A mandate is awarded by the electorate to those who are deemed worthy, but the failure of the Conservatives to grow and govern better shows that they have not provided “good”

[ST1.41] **For that alone, they do not deserve a renewed mandate.**

government; the person, Harper, and his party are considered responsible for past actions (Perelman, *Realm* 90) with the result that they have not earned the right to govern again. The final dis-endorsement develops this sense of unworthiness: “They do not deserve a renewed mandate” [ST1.41]. The *Star* 1 editorial relies on pathos and ethos to move readers to accept its position that the Conservatives do not deserve to be returned to power. Although it considers that there are logical reasons why this should happen, its argument is grounded largely in appeals to pathos and ethos as it asks readers to consider this stance.

Discussion

The *Star* I editorial argues that the Conservatives should not be returned to office because they have not met the expectations of voters: they have “disappointed” and do not “deserve” another mandate. This framing of the editorial’s stance demonstrates the strength of the appeals

to readers' emotions. The editorial follows an inductive strategy, relying on an accumulation of reasons to establish its viewpoint which is only explicitly revealed in the final sentence.

Because this argument is based on values, many of the appeals are emotionally based – appealing to a sense of national pride and of disappointment in the actions of a government that has not lived up to the values the editorial assumes Canadians hold. The argumentative strategy leaves much unstated, relying on readers to supply information and help construct the argument. This subtle and understated discussion utilizes the rhetorical strategy of enthymeme in which premises are missing, relying on this sense of shared values so readers can fill in the missing information. Although grounds referencing policies and actions are incorporated into the argument, readers are also asked to apply their background knowledge, thus further drawing them into the editorial. Implied warrants incorporate many of the assumed values: a robust economy and fiscal responsibility are to be desired, and a democratic government should be open and inclusive and should project a strong national image, as well. The implicit warrants and the general reliance on readers to draw on background knowledge are significant given that the *Star* is preparing readers to accept a shift in its traditional view. The *Star* must present this shift gradually (hence the two-part editorial) to avoid alienating readers before it has had a chance to present its full argument. In this endeavour, the enthymeme functions as a form of argumentative shorthand. By making readers work out the syllogism for themselves, the editorial impresses the conclusion upon readers, “yet in a way gentler than if ... spelled it out in so many words” (Harris). Building this sense of common, shared values helps enhance the editorial's credibility. But the editorial also enhances its ethos by demonstrating fairness to opposing viewpoints, offering positive assessments where they are due, and establishing its expertise to comment on the political landscape of Canada because of its wealth of knowledge. By convincing readers that it is a credible source, the editorial gains their confidence so that it can bring forward new – and some might say radical – ideas. Establishing this groundwork of trust creates readers who are willing to listen to new ideas and who have a predisposition to accept them. The *Star* is shifting from its traditional support of the Liberals and therefore first needs to create a strong sense of ethos to ensure that readers follow.

The *Star* 1 dis-endorsement editorial makes significant use of the forensic or judicial genre to accuse and pillory Harper. There are no redeeming attributes as the editorial provides a litany of accusations, with no chance for Harper to defend himself. Harper is also criticized personally as “terminally suspicious” and a hypocrite who has betrayed his democratic principles, an example of epideictic rhetoric. This editorial provides little deliberative discourse; it does not try to persuade readers to take any specific action. By illustrating the misdeeds of the Harper Conservatives, the editorial implicitly suggests the form of a better government. At the conclusion, the editorial suggests that Canada should have a bold vision but does not provide an extended argument on how to achieve it. The *Star* editorial presents its case, determining that the Harper government has not been good for Canada.

In contrast to strategies employed in many editorials and, indeed, much analytical writing, the *Star* 1 editorial does not suggest a viable alternative. Readers are left to contemplate the myriad shortcomings of the incumbent government without being prompted to compare it to a suggested alternative. The preview pointing to the next day’s editorial, “Saturday: The alternative in Monday’s election,” [ST1.42] creates both an expectation and an invitation. Left with the *Star*’s indictment of the Conservatives, *Star* readers are set up to anticipate the course of action the *Star* will propose. This strategy of using expectation and suspense relies on an emotional appeal to intensify the argument. Burke argues that one part of a text can lead a reader to anticipate a subsequent, creating to a sense of satisfaction when the sequence is completed (*Counter-Statement* 124). After the first editorial, readers are left contemplating the negative assessments. In the interim, they may well ponder the problem, consider the possibilities, and perhaps formulate their own arguments in favour of another party. By forcing readers to supply parts of the argument, the editorial encourages them to become more invested in the outcome. On the second day, the *Star* presents its proposed solution or alternative. This two-pronged approach allows each editorial to be more detailed and extensive than if a new position were combined into one longer editorial, ensuring that reader attention is not lost because of length. The somewhat offsetting negative consequence is that some might read only one or the other, and thus miss half the argument.

Each *Star* editorial argues a single position and makes only a small acknowledgement of any differing viewpoints. In the second editorial, the *Star* assumes that the case has already been made that the Conservatives are not a viable option and seeks to convince readers to give their electoral support to a new alternative proposed by the *Star*.

3.2.4 *Toronto Star 2*

The Other Half: *An Explicit Directive to Vote NDP*

One day later, the *Toronto Star* published the second installment of its editorial stance. Following the previous day's scathing indictment of the Conservative Party, this concluding editorial provides a strong and sustained argument in favour of the New Democratic Party. The first editorial concluded with the preview: "Saturday: The alternative in Monday's election." The promised answer is quickly provided by the second editorial, with its headline "The Election Choice: For Layton and the NDP." The first editorial, with its emphasis on the criticality of the impending vote and its overall condemnation of the Conservatives' record in office, laid the groundwork; this one delivers the message.

The *Star 2* editorial is about change. The editorial inspires readers about the possibility – and the need – to make an adjustment to ensure a "better future for the country" [ST2.4]. The editorial rejects the "crabbed, narrow vision ... [of] the Harper Conservatives" [ST2.44], and motivates readers to embrace a greater and more encompassing vision of Canada. By raising the possibility that Canada should "aim higher" [ST2.5] and "aspire to something greater" [ST2.44], the editorial motivates readers to construct their own vision of the Canada that could be. By engaging readers emotionally, this appeal encourages readers to favourably consider, and hopefully to adopt, the editorial's viewpoint. But even more than that, this editorial wants readers to put that conviction into action by voting for the NDP in the coming election. To gain sufficient adherence to translate it into action, the editorial seizes reader attention at the outset and uses appeals combining logos, pathos, and ethos to build adherence to the newly proposed position that it supports with deliberative, forensic, and epideictic rhetoric.

Exemplifying the editorial's view that the election is about change and progress, the *Star* editorial illustrates this ability to change. It begins by pointing out that this federal election "may well turn out to be historic for all kinds of reasons that were not obvious when it was called five weeks ago today" [ST2.1]. The election results may prove historic, but the editorial itself is "historic" in the sense that it is breaking new ground for this newspaper. The *Star* endorsed the Liberal Party in the two previous elections that resulted in minority governments for the Conservative Party; in this editorial, the *Star* rejects the Liberals as a viable alternative to the incumbent Conservatives and urges readers to back the NDP, a party that it has backed only once before since 1968 (English "Why"). The *Star*'s shift of allegiance is therefore a bold and unexpected move. Readers expect a certain continuity of perspective from a newspaper, particularly in editorials, and any significant alteration is usually explained and clearly signalled to readers. In this editorial, the *Star* must support its stance, as it would normally, but also explain how, as an institution, the newspaper has arrived at this new position. Therefore, this editorial must convince readers of the reasonableness of supporting the NDP and establish why the *Star* cannot endorse the Liberals in this election. Whereas the first *Star* editorial was designed to convince readers of the damaging consequences of Harper governments, both past and future, this second editorial aims at "inciting action, or at least at creating a disposition to act" (Perelman, *Realm* 12). The editorial includes a comprehensive thesis and two separate calls-to-action that encourage readers to "give support" and "look to" the NDP during Monday's vote [ST2.10, 44].

The first *Star* editorial's dis-endorsement of the Conservatives was argued implicitly; in contrast, this editorial is much more explicit. It uses quasi-logical argumentative strategies and reasons to present its support for the NDP. In addition to the emotional connection it creates with readers, it works to establish a sense of shared common values and goals, thus enhancing its credibility and making readers more receptive to the new ideas being advanced. By including all three types of appeal (ethos, logos, and pathos), the editorial strengthens its argument as it undertakes the task of asking readers to join it in reconsidering its traditional support for the Liberals and to not only transfer this allegiance to the NDP, but take explicit action to support them. To support its logical appeals, the *Star* editorial relies on cause and effect – the anticipated

or predicted consequences that may result from a specific outcome in the federal election. This cause-and-effect strategy presumes to “judge an action ... by the consequences that it has (Perelman “Theory” 1398), which may be positive or negative, observed or foreseen (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 266). The effects must be a direct result of the causative action, which, in this editorial, is supporting and voting for a particular party in the election. The first *Star* editorial exposed the adverse consequences of voting for the incumbent government; this editorial relies on comparison to assert that these negative outcomes can be avoided by voting for the NDP. Readers are warned that electing a Conservative government will ensure a government “obsessed with control, dismissive of critics, and determined to further diminish the role of the state” [ST2.4]. By describing several consequences, the editorial increases the significance of the result, thus enhancing its importance in the eyes of its readers. However, these statements also include a strong appeal to a shared sense of values. The prediction appeals to a sense of national pride by referring to the “better future” [ST2.4], as well as to the universal value of progress. In this opening contextual section, the editorial begins to construct an image of the kind of government Canadians want: a government that is open, accountable, and proactive on the country’s behalf. The point of departure uses the fact that an election is looming, combined with the opinion that the result is important for the future of the country. The argument relies on the loci of quality – uniqueness – when it describes the importance of this election as historic. The election will be historic regardless of the outcome, since it will have occurred in the past. However, the term “historic” implies a significant change or deviation from the status quo. This sentence reinforces that this is an important time in the country’s development. This provides, without being explicit, the context and exigence that sparked these editorials, the *Star’s* unusual response tactic of writing two endorsement editorials, and the even more unusual move to alter its traditional party support. The statement that this election will be memorable “for all kinds of reasons that were not obvious when it was called five weeks ago” [ST2.1] gains strength by its reference to quantity (“all kinds”) and further emphasizes the deviation from normal with the phrase “that were not obvious” five weeks ago. This also suggests that the expressed opinion is based on the most complete, up-to-date developments in the campaign and needs to be acted on within a relatively short time. “Precariousness” adds qualitative value (Perelman and Olbrechts-

Tyteca 91) and, given that election outcomes are often unpredictable, this aspect contributes to the import of the election results, augmenting the exigence and the editorial's need to comment. These comments enhance the editorial's credibility with readers. The *Star* is providing a new perspective that it implies may not be available elsewhere. The significance attached to this election was not obvious when the election was called, but the *Star* has

[ST2.1]Monday's federal election may well turn out to be historic for all kinds of reasons that were not obvious when it was called five weeks ago today.

[ST2.2]Unless the pollsters have totally misread the mood of the voters, Stephen Harper's Conservatives look to be heading for another victory. [ST2.3]As we said on Friday, that would be bad for the country. [ST2.4]The last thing Canada needs is an affirmation of a government obsessed with control, dismissive of critics, and determined to further diminish the role of the state in charting a better future for the country.

considered all aspects and is able to offer readers new insights and expertise to help them understand the ramifications. This initial section attracts readers' interest and connects with them emotionally by drawing on a shared vision of, and a desire for, a better Canada.

This shared sense of values includes a presumption that readers prefer what is "good" for the country and that they desire growth, increased status for the country, and, in general, improvement and progress. This use of the loci of the preferable and the hierarchy of bad/good (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 75–81) is evident in the statements that a Harper victory "would be bad for the country" and "the last thing Canada needs" [ST2.3, 4]. These assumed values are incompatible with a government that will "further diminish the role of the state in charting a better future" [ST2.4]. Comparisons involving the oppositions of good/bad and high/low invoke an ordering of values (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca

[ST2.5]Voters who believe that Canada can — and should — aim higher have an important decision. [ST2.6]Until 10 days ago, they had only one realistic alternative to the Conservatives — the Liberal party under Michael Ignatieff. [ST2.7]Today, that is no longer the case.

81). Examples of the previous government's negative attributes include an emotional appeal that increases in intensity as the list develops: "obsessed," "dismissive," and "determined to further diminish the role of the state ..." [ST2.4]. These negative attributes were explained in the previous editorial, but are repeated here to reinforce reader belief that these traits are not conducive to an effective government. This appeal to readers' emotions is amplified in the thesis that follows as the editorial addresses a particular segment of readers: those "who believe that Canada can – and should – aim higher..." [ST2.5]. This description forces readers to self-

identify, but at the same time, subtly encourages them to join the construct of voters who align with the editorial's viewpoints (Burke, *Rhetoric* 55). Few readers would choose to disregard the accepted values of progress and national pride by admitting they do not want Canada to aim higher. This rhetorical move allows the editorial to establish a sense of commonality with readers that increases its ethos and the readers' receptivity to its viewpoints. By emphasizing both the importance of the decision and the changing face of the political domain, the thesis lends urgency to its message. Until 10 days ago, there was "only one realistic alternative...." [ST2.6]. The dissociation invoked by using "realistic" implies that the Liberals were considered the best replacement for the Conservatives, although there were other "less realistic" or viable alternatives. However, this possibility is disqualified by declaring that it is now in the past, rendering the proposed solution as the only viable one, given the values and beliefs that the *Star* editorial assumes it shares with readers. Elections offer an opportunity for choice and change, and voters who want to aim higher are encouraged to consider another "realistic alternative" to the Conservatives, who have been shown to disregard the values embraced by readers. The implied warrant is that if Canadians want to achieve a better country, they should look beyond the status quo and embrace change and innovation for the good of all citizens.

This concept of change and growth is incorporated into the description of the New Democrats, who "have been reinvigorated" [ST2.8] and may well become the "standard-bearer" of those voters who are disenchanted with the Harper Conservatives [ST2.9]. This pathetic appeal is

[ST2.8]The New Democrats have been reinvigorated under the leadership of Jack Layton. [ST2.9]After Monday, they may well challenge the Liberals as the principal national standard-bearer for the roughly two voters in three who disagree fundamentally with the course charted by the Harper Conservatives.

bolstered by the use of statistics, "two voters in three" [ST2.9], to illustrate the degree of voter dissatisfaction. This quasi-logical appeal relies on an assumed preference for quantity to persuade readers of its importance, with the premise that what is chosen by the majority is probably best. But it also enhances ethos by including verifiable statistics and facts. However, the more important ethical appeal concerns the manner in which this statement separates voters. Two-thirds of voters disagree with the actions of the Conservative government; by default, then, one in three voters is assumed to support those actions. The editorial implies that readers can

belong to the “others” who support the Conservatives, or they can join the majority, who are aligned with the viewpoints espoused by the editorial. Readers are thus manoeuvred into a closer identification with the editorial that will make them more amenable to adopting the viewpoints subsequently expressed [Burke, *Rhetoric* 20]. This division of the voters into “us and them” forms the basis of the call-to-action that follows. The call is addressed to “progressive voters” [ST2.10], a slightly different designation of those voters who are aligned with the *Star* 2 editorial. Previously described as “voters who believe Canada should aim higher” [ST2.4] and “the roughly two voters in three who disagree fundamentally” [ST2.5] with the Conservatives’ actions, these voters are easily moved to identify themselves as “progressive voters.” An endorsement statement, which provides a concise and explicit statement of support, can function as a building block of an argument that culminates in a directive to readers to take a specific action. However, the *Star* 2 waives this step and moves directly to a call-to-action, exhorting readers to vote for the NDP. This request of readers is made early in the editorial, thus ensuring that it is foremost in readers’ minds as they continue reading the evidence and refutation sections. With this argumentative strategy of presenting readers with the thesis and call-to-action early in the argument, the editorial relies on appeals to pathos and ethos to spur readers on to accept the major request of putting their adherence into action. The editorial does not specifically tell readers to vote or cast a ballot for the NDP, but relies on a reader’s familiarity with the electoral system to know how to implement “support on Monday” [ST2.10]. This respect for readers is shown by the editorial’s indication that voters can choose whether or not to “give” support to a party. Parties and/or leaders cannot demand support, but must earn or win their votes, according to democratic principles. Readers are guided into building part of the call-to-action by the use of the pronoun “them,” which forces readers to connect back to the antecedent noun two sentences earlier. The pronoun provides a gloss of familiarity for the editorial and reader – both know who “them” refers to. By establishing a strong identification with readers, the editorial deftly positions them to respond favourably when it invites them to take action [Burke, *Rhetoric* 21].

[ST2.10] *PROGRESSIVE VOTERS
SHOULD GIVE THEM THEIR
SUPPORT ON MONDAY.*

The evidence to support this call-to-action is introduced with several brief claims. Given the use of negatives and shifting time frames, the two statements about the previous reputation of the NDP are difficult to unpack. By stating that, “in the past it has been easy to dismiss the NDP as naïve idealists” [ST2.11], the editorial suggests that this is no longer the case, but it inserts a sentence saying the same thing: “That no longer applies” [ST2.12]. What results, for someone willing to deconstruct the sentence and clarify the double negatives, is a statement that suggests the NDP can still easily be dismissed as “naïve idealists.” Presumably, this was not the writer’s intent, but it does raise the issue of clarity in writing. If, as in this case, the effect of passive formation and the negative word “dismiss” are not considered in the initial claim, the use of the pronoun “that” leaves it unclear which part of the preceding sentence it refers to: the ease, the dismissal, or the criticism of naïve idealism. These enthymemic claims are not supported by any stated reasons, but rely on the generalization that people and parties can change, develop, and become better. The underlying notion that change can often be for the better is encapsulated in the claims that the NDP have now “emerged as a credible force” [ST2.13], in contrast to their previous incarnation as “naïve idealists.” These descriptions focus on appeals to pathos and ethos, asking readers to agree with the editorial’s view that “naïve idealism” is not a trait valued in a government or leader, but that credibility is. The loci of quantity is invoked by the reliance on “many reasons” to support the claim of credibility (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 86). The section uses accumulation or amplification of detail provided by examples and reasons to argue in favour of the NDP (Burke, *Rhetoric* 69). . This section of evidence also uses a stylistic device to enhance the logical appeal. Bullet points – setting off paragraphs or points stylistically with a typographical symbol – are not used in any of the other editorials in this sample set. In this *Star* editorial, their use visually distinguishes these four specific points of support. At the same time, it endows the information with the weight of fact, rather than debatable points, by evoking images of PowerPoint or other slideware used extensively in business and educational presentations to transmit information quickly and clearly. Criticisms of slideware suggest that it limits reasoning and connections, reducing knowledge to point-sized bits of information. However, in the context of this editorial, the novelty of this manner of presentation draws attention and visually reinforces the idea that there are “many reasons” [ST2.13] to support the

NDP. The editorial, as the source of this extensive knowledge, derives increased credibility from being a source that can analyse this information.

This evidence section uses a significant number of examples and stated reasons to establish the structure of reality. The points relate to concrete examples offered to prove that the NDP has the traits necessary to succeed at the federal level: the breakthrough in Quebec, their overall platform, economic plans, and their leader. Rather than analyse each of these logical appeals extensively to demonstrate how the claims are supported by stated reasons, I discuss how the implied warrants develop a picture of the attributes of a government that will provide the leadership and innovation the country needs. The NDP, in this argumentative strategy, embodies these traits. The first bullet point relies on a shared belief that national unity and harmony is a desirable goal, one that is emphasized by the use of the term “vital” [ST2.16]. A party that aspires to lead the country must represent all areas of Canada, but it must also stand up to regional demands and not sacrifice the interests of one area or interest group for another. A leader at the federal level must engender trust, and the notation of “Layton’s roots” [ST2.17] implies that Quebec voters especially may feel a kinship, but that voters in general feel more comfortable supporting those with whom they share some form of common bond. The NDP’s platform, with its focus on the needs of the people, is presented as another reason to back the party [ST2.18]. Government should address

[ST2.11]In the past it has been easy to dismiss the federal NDP as naive idealists. [ST2.12]That no longer applies.

[ST2.13]In this campaign they have emerged as a credible force, for many reasons.

- [ST2.14] The party is on the verge of a historic breakthrough in Quebec, which would go far toward establishing it as a truly national party. [ST2.15]Pushing back the Bloc Québécois is an enormous service to all Canadians. [ST2.16]For the long-term unity of the country it is vital to have a national federalist leader trusted in Quebec as well as other regions.

[ST2.17]Layton’s roots in Quebec have proven key to this.

- [ST2.18] The platform the NDP offers voters is ambitious and puts people first.

[ST2.19]It focuses on seniors, health care and the environment. [ST2.20] It is in the broad tradition of nation-building that has long been at the heart of Canadian politics. [ST2.21]After years of hearing the Harper Conservatives give the back of the hand to such aspirations, it is refreshing to see.

- [ST2.22] On economic issues, long the NDP’s weakest point, the party is much sounder than it has been in the past.

[ST2.23]It is reaching out to small business as the main motor of job creation, and proposes no increases in personal taxes (though it would hike the corporate tax rate to 19.5 per cent).

[ST2.24]It pledges to balance the federal budget in four years, the same as the Liberals and Conservatives.

- [ST2.25]In Layton it has a leader who has won the trust of many voters — a rare feat in a time dominated by cynical, ultra-partisan politicking. [ST2.26]As a product of Toronto’s municipal scene and a veteran of urban politics, he is more attuned than any other major leader to the needs of our country’s cities — the engines of innovation and future prosperity.

issues that affect all citizens; these programs reflect the values of voters – protecting the country’s environmental heritage and looking after the more vulnerable members of society such as the elderly and the ill. These are basic tenets of the democratic system and, by comparison to the Conservatives’ neglect of this area, the NDP are shown to offer the possibility of change and advancement that the editorial favours.

Economic issues are acknowledged as the NDP’s principal weakness [ST2.22], but the editorial then emphasizes the party’s fiscal improvements. The specific examples that incorporate one of the few instances of data in this editorial solidify the warrant that dealing with the economy is an important skill for a governing party. By equating the plan for a balanced budget to that of the Liberals and Conservatives, the editorial allows positive judgments of the policies of other parties to be transferred to the NDP. Solid economic plans are needed to ensure that the country progresses and deficits are not supported because the debt burdens future generations. In a democratic society such as Canada, these are accepted ways to achieve the desired goal of economic prosperity. The final bullet point relies on example to support its claim that Layton has won the trust of voters, as well as on strong pathos and ethos appeals. Layton is shown, on the basis of experience, to exemplify traits that are highly desired in a leader: A good leader is trusted by voters, understands the needs of cities, and respects the need for innovation. By recognizing these as important characteristics that readers value, the editorial enhances its ethos. At the same time, the recognition helps establish a connection between readers and Layton by displaying his personal side. Employing the argumentative strategy of acknowledging opposing opinions further develops ethos. In voicing these concerns, the *Star 2* editorial sets out to convert the naysayers in its audience. These counter-arguments are addressed in a general manner, allowing readers to provide background knowledge to flesh them out, and, in the process, to help convince themselves that they are not fatal flaws. The claim that the NDP “has never felt the discipline of power at the national level” [ST2.28] includes a known fact but does not provide reasons or examples of its potential implications. This enthymemic structure is repeated in the final

[ST2.27]Question marks remain.
[ST2.28]The NDP has never felt the discipline of power at the national level, and it shows. [ST2.29]There are doubts about some of its proposals, including the amount that might be raised from its cap-and-trade system and its plan to claw back revenue from tax havens.

weakness concerning issues of cap-and-trade and tax claw backs. These are complex and convoluted policy areas that bear substantial implications for Canadians, but the editorial dispenses with them in a single sentence, a strategy that diminishes their importance and downplays the NDP's comparative weakness in this arena. The implied warrants suggest that governing at different levels requires different skill sets, and that a lack of experience is recognized as a legitimate concern for readers when they consider supporting a party. Parties who aspire to govern need to have clear policies to establish trust in the party. Citizens want to know exactly what they are voting for – particularly when it involves costs. This refutation of anticipated criticism of the NDP is countered by evidence that the New Democrats have shown in the past that they can balance fiscal responsibility with their social conscience [ST2.30]. This claim is augmented with an ethical appeal that relies on the reputations of three high-profile, former NDP leaders who held positions at different political levels. This single-statement structure encourages readers to draw on their background knowledge to convince themselves of the success these leaders experienced. The implied warrant is that past performance shows that the NDP have the requisite characteristics to govern and the NDP have only to apply the skills in a new forum. Connected to this warrant is the underlying belief in growth and progress with the implication that the NDP will exhibit the requisite ability to innovate and improve, both in themselves and for the country. The editorial's lengthy section refuting the leadership aspirations of the Liberals – the *Star's* traditional standard-bearers – contains a similarly strong ethical appeal. The editorial reasserts its claim of credibility by repeating that the way the campaign “has developed took everyone by surprise” [ST2.33]. The editorial includes itself and its readers in this assertion, thereby further identifying with them (Burke, *Rhetoric* 21). However, the editorial also uses this to show that, despite the turn of events, it has been able to provide a reasoned and thoughtful analysis of the situation. By transferring its support to a party other than its traditional favourite, the editorial indicates that it is not partisan, that it is able to assess the course of action that will most benefit the country. This appeal to the readers' emotions is enhanced by focusing

[ST2.30]New Democrats have shown at the provincial level that once in office they can square their social conscience with fiscal responsibility. [ST2.31]They are the party of Tommy Douglas, Allan Blakeney and Roy Romanow — pragmatists with a vision and a heart. [ST2.32] Now that a much more significant role beckons at the federal level they must accept the challenge of developing that approach nationally as well.

on the effects of the campaign. People were surprised by how the campaign developed, and disappointed by the Liberals, whose main task was to connect personally with voters [ST2.33–35]. The Conservatives were “brutal” when they portrayed Ignatieff as “other than a real Canadian” [ST2.36], implying that there are various types of Canadians (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 437–38), and that, in a comparative sense, Ignatieff belongs to one of the lesser groups. While these are robust examples and reasons, the editorial still expects readers to fill in details using background knowledge. The implied warrant is that the election campaign is a chance for the party and/or leader to prove they have the skills and traits necessary to govern effectively. The conclusion implied by the warrant is that, if they cannot connect with people, defend their own image, or demonstrate their worthiness to govern, then the party and its leader may not deserve to be elected. Many of these are the traits of good government that have been developed throughout the editorial, traits readers desire in their government.

[ST2.33]The way this campaign has developed took everyone by surprise. [ST2.34]The biggest disappointment has been the Liberal party under Ignatieff. [ST2.35]Going into the campaign they had by far the biggest challenge — to connect with voters and offer a strong alternative to the Conservatives. [ST2.36]They had to overcome the Conservatives’ brutal but effective framing of Ignatieff as something other than a real Canadian. [ST2.37]With only two days to go before voting day, all the signs are that they have fallen short. [ST2.38]Ignatieff has spent the past few days lamenting the loss of the centre ground of Canadian politics and attacking the NDP as spendthrifts and “boy scouts.” [ST2.39]His party’s collapse in Quebec raises the question of whether it can truly be considered a national force at this point. [ST2.40]Liberal governments built much of what is best about this country — but voters are sending a clear message that they don’t feel they owe the Liberals anything for what the party did once upon a time. [ST2.41]Nor do they believe the party has fully purged itself of the cronyism and corruption of the past. [ST2.42]Elections are about the future, and the Liberals have not made a persuasive case for themselves as the alternative in 2011.

This refutation of the Liberal Party’s ambition to govern becomes even more emotional as it portrays their growing sense of loss. The adjectives employed as it progresses help draw readers into accepting the implied judgments. Ignatieff is described as “lamenting” the loss of centre ground, as evidenced by his denigration of the NDP as “spendthrifts and ‘boy scouts’ ” [ST2.38]. These actions – blaming and belittling others with specious arguments – do not exemplify the statesmanlike traits expected of a potential prime minister. The lack of presence in Quebec also defies the image of good government that readers share. Governments should represent the entire country and work to maintain national unity. Although the Liberals are

praised for their past actions – building “much of what is best about this country” [ST2.40] – the implied warrant is that Canada must look to the future. The Liberals needed to show what they could continue to do for the country, rather than rest on their laurels. As a final salvo, the editorial dredges up past criticisms of “cronyism and corruption” [ST2.41]. Throughout, readers must supply details of the reasons, thus becoming more invested in the argument as it advances. The extensiveness of the survey of the Liberals’ failings helps develop the editorial’s credibility as a knowledgeable source, while at the same time serving to justify, perhaps even to itself, why it can no longer support the Liberals. Elections are about the future – a future that the editorial uses to inspire readers – and readers need to choose the best party and person to take them there.

Building the intensity of the disillusionment with the Liberals allows the editorial to present its endorsed candidate as the exemplification of those traits that leadership and government should embody. Suggesting there is a “real” choice discredits the other possibilities by comparison. But the strength of this statement rests on its embodiment of *kairos*, or the time-to-act. The phrasing, “this time,” implies an opportunity that cannot – and should not – be missed. And, “fortunately,” the opportunity offers the possibility of remedial positive action. Elections are an opportunity to chart new directions and reach out for shared visions; failing to act now would delay this vision. The time-to-act statement is placed after the alternative has been disqualified, such that it emphasizes the opportunity to go in a different direction. It heightens the intensity of readers’ emotional investment and prepares them for the penultimate call-to-action, encouraging them to join in a common cause. The shared sense of values and identification developed throughout the editorial mentally prepares readers for the concluding call-to-action. By calling on “voters who believe Canada should aspire to something greater than the crabbed, narrow vision offer by the Harper Conservatives” [ST2.44], the editorial reassembles the readers who are aligned with it, who were previously identified in the thesis and call-to-action as those who want to “aim higher” and who are “progressive” (Burke, *Rhetoric* 21). This group is clearly

[ST2.43] *Fortunately, this time there is a real choice.*

[ST2.44] *VOTERS WHO BELIEVE CANADA SHOULD ASPIRE TO SOMETHING GREATER THAN THE CRABBED, NARROW VISION OFFERED BY THE HARPER CONSERVATIVES SHOULD LOOK TO JACK LAYTON AND THE NEW DEMOCRATS ON MONDAY.*

defined as people who value the vision of a Canada that is progressive, democratic, innovative, and compassionate.

The sense of time and timeliness introduced by the concept of historicity prevails throughout the editorial. The opening sentence positions the editorial in relation to “Monday’s federal election” that was called “five weeks ago today.” This reference to time shows that situations can change rapidly and reflects the reason that has prompted the writing of this editorial. With the election campaign almost over, important issues must be addressed. The time elapsed in the campaign and the rapidly approaching conclusion are used to suggest that the opinions expressed are based on the most recent developments and should be acted upon expediently. The endorsement of the NDP is based on its performance “in this campaign,” which is singled out as being an important growth period and as a premium opportunity for parties and leaders to demonstrate their capabilities. Monday, the long anticipated day of the actual vote, is mentioned four times in the editorial, thus assuming the role of a pivotal date in the course of the country’s history. Reader knowledge and the editorial’s reminder that it is “only two days” away further heightens the sense that the time-to-act is fast approaching. “Today” is mentioned twice as a time factor – providing two different senses of the word. In the opening sentence, it pinpoints the date of the election writ, which was five weeks earlier. In the thesis statement, the statement “Today that is no longer the case” conveys a broader span – the current political situation at the conclusion of the election campaign. These temporal references lay the groundwork for the conclusion’s final time-to-act statement: “... this time there is a real choice,” a declaration that refers to the current political context as the campaign draws to a close. While time is an important aspect of exigence here, it also factors into the predicted consequences. As the editorial states, “Elections are about the future” [ST2.42] and the editorial relies heavily on the future consequences that will ensue from the vote (and from its endorsement). The editorial begins and ends with the word Monday, bookending the argument that discusses the events leading up to, and the consequences anticipated from, this pivotal Monday election.

The editorial also relies on arguments that unite the leader with the actions of his party, with the sense that one is a manifestation of the other. In this relationship of co-existence, the leader, Layton, and the party are referred to interchangeably in some instances, but are treated as

distinct entities in others. As it introduces its support for the NDP, the editorial mentions the party first – implying that it is the more enduring entity, but then it credits the resurgence of the party to “the leadership of Jack Layton” [ST2.8]. However, for the most part, the positive assessments are assigned to the party. Only with the requirement for a “national federalist leader” [ST2.16] does the editorial mention Layton again, citing his Quebec heritage as a positive factor in creating this national presence. Layton’s leadership potential is revived in this instance to confirm the trust that he has established with voters and his awareness of “the needs of our country’s cities” [ST2.26]. Layton is not closely associated with policies or programs, but his reputation is used to establish an emotional connection with readers by showing that he embodies characteristics that readers value in a leader. By implication, the traits of the leader translate well to the values of the party. This concept of the indivisibility of leader and party are products of the governance system in Canada; party members, including the leader, are expected to support the values and policies that make up the party platform. But this indivisibility also constitutes an example of synecdoche in which the part (the leader) can be used to represent, or to refer to, the whole (party) (Corbett 480; Harris “Synecdoche”). This type of argument similarly suggests that the values of Douglas, Blakeney, and Romanow reflect the current party’s values; the party embodies the values and essence of the men who once headed it in various other jurisdictions. The esteem attached to these former leaders can be transferred to the party, in general, and, by extension, to the current leader. In this case, “the value we attach to an act prompts us to attribute a certain value to the person” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 297). This interchangeability of the leader and the party are an important aspect of this argument. However, it is interesting to note that the argument does not revolve around Layton; it focuses more on the party. Given that Layton had been ill, one could speculate that the editorial was reluctant to let its support rest entirely on his shoulders, lest he be forced to resign for health reasons, as did eventually happen.

Discussion

The argumentation in the *Star* 2 editorial relies on a cause-and-effect strategy by revealing the benefits that will result from an NDP victory in the federal election. Within this

strategy, the editorial uses loci of quality, quantity, and co-existence to support its arguments. The editorial is focused on the action of casting a vote on Monday, the day of the federal election, and includes calls-to-action of varying strengths: “give support” and “look to.” In its previous editorial, the *Star* emphasized the consequences of voting for the incumbent government; here, it shows the benefits of voting for its preferred alternative.

The editorial presents its deliberative argument using a predominance of claims, rather than data and facts. These claims invoke a sense of shared values with readers and assume that they will prefer what is “good” for the country. This vision includes promoting growth, increasing the country’s status, and generating a “better future.” These values are at the heart of democracy. The concept of progress or nation-building and the vision of Canadians aspiring to something greater appeal to readers’ emotions, rather than their logic. This reliance on claims and reasons to support the argument, rather than facts and data, indicates that the editorial assumes these underlying values are also shared by readers, and therefore do not require extensive justification. By pointing out the beneficial effects of a change in government and suggesting how this can be achieved, the editorial hopes to move readers along the continuum of adherence to this viewpoint, with the ultimate goal of persuading them to vote for the NDP.

The deliberative nature of this argument focuses on the future as the *Star* consistently urges voters in its endorsements that Canada should “aim higher” and “aspire to something great.” In contrast to the previous editorial, this endorsement argues for the NDP as the best opportunity to achieve the visions of progress and nation-building. The focus is on the future, and therefore forensic or judicial rhetoric is employed only in support of the deliberative. The NDP’s policies on economic issues are judged as better than in the past. One example of a judgment from the past concerns the references to Tommy Douglas and other notable “pragmatists with a vision and a heart,” used as a means to pass positive judgment on the NDP and their potential. Not does epideictic rhetoric play a major role. Layton is praised for winning the trust of voters. But the editorial keeps the focus on the future, as it seeks to move readers toward voting for the NDP who can achieve that future vision.

The Pros and Cons: Two Sides of an Issue

The two *Toronto Star* editorials are “historic” in their own right. With its background of traditionally supporting the federal Liberal Party, the *Star* forges new intellectual grounds with this unexpected endorsement of the New Democratic Party in the 2011 election. The editorials must be considered as a set – an argument that is presented to readers in two installments. The first editorial voices its strong rejection of returning the Conservatives to a third term in office. This stance is not unexpected, given the *Star*’s traditional left-leaning values. However, what is significant is the intensity of the indictment that culminates in the rather unusual form of a dis-endorsement. The editorial seeks to establish this sense of disillusionment and disenchantment in readers by gently guiding them through a survey of the litany of errors and omissions of the Conservatives. But even more important than setting out the reasons why the Conservatives should not receive another mandate is the task of gaining the trust of readers to ensure they join the *Star* editorials on their intellectual journey. Establishing this ethos or credibility not only allows readers to accept the dis-endorsement of the Conservatives, but prepares them to move further along the continuum to accept the next day’s support for the NDP. Editors at the *Star* could well have anticipated significant reader resistance. Therefore, it was important to establish credibility because they were asking readers to take a significant step and accept an unusual viewpoint. In arguments such as these two that relate to basic democratic and personal values, reader estimation of the writer as a source of credible information is paramount to allowing readers to accept the editorial’s guidance or advice. Because they are changing their traditional allegiance, the editorials must first build their ethos to ensure readers will listen. The *Star* 1 editorial presents its argument implicitly – many details or premises are left unspoken, drawing on the co-operation of readers to complete them. This gentle approach allows a reader to become accustomed to a change in direction. But the second *Star* editorial states its case explicitly, driving home its argument that the NDP are the only party to offer a viable alternative to the “crabbed, narrow vision” [ST2.44] Canadians have received over the past five years.

While the *Star* editorials work in tandem to change voter allegiances, the *Toronto Sun* has no illusions of changing its readers' minds. It assumes their allegiance to the Tories is as strong as the *Sun*'s, and uses the opportunity to chastise the ruling party.

3.2.5 *Toronto Sun*

Emotions and Ethos Give Editorial Its Bite

The Sun Media⁹ editorial, “*Sun Backs Stephen Harper*,” is a brief but passionate, if not unconditional, endorsement of the Conservative Party and its leader. Harper and the Conservatives receive the editorial's support, intensified by a “strong belief” [SU.2] that they need “a majority to make the changes this country desperately needs” [SU.2]. But the *Sun* editorial also cautions that its support comes “with warnings and serious strings attached” [SU.2]. Harper is praised for his economic record, but chastised for a “bloated” federal civil service and for a perceived lack of accountability and transparency [SU.7, 10]. However, the alternative parties, the Liberals led by Ignatieff and the NDP under the leadership of Layton, are depicted as being ill-prepared to run the country effectively. Delivering on its warning of “caveats and conditions” [SU.1], the *Sun* uses the editorial to administer a lecture to Harper and the party about how the Conservatives must improve if they are given a new term in office.

Rather than rely on persuasive reasoning and evidence to create adherence to its stance, the *Sun* editorial invokes appeals to ethos and pathos. It argues from the stance that readers share the same basic values as the *Sun* – a small-c, conservative position that believes good government is small but efficient and that it should embody fiscal responsibility and accountability. The editorial's position is clearly stated at the outset, using both an endorsement and a mirror-image thesis. The remainder of the editorial presents arguments and reasons to increase or intensify reader support for the opinions expressed. However, because of the sense of identification between the editorial and its readers (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20-23), much of the reasoning is implicit; it utilizes enthymemic structures, which rely on readers to supply examples

⁹ The editorial, written on behalf of Sun Media, was published in all *Sun* newspapers in Canada. For clarity, I refer to it as the *Sun* editorial and analyse it in the context of the newspaper, *The Toronto Sun*, in which it was published.

and illustrations, to increase the persuasive effect. Appeals to the readers' emotions are enhanced by using figures of speech extensively to create a stylistically rich editorial. The emotional appeal that permeates the editorial builds as it develops, reaching a climax in the conclusion.

At the outset, the editorial reaches out to its readers by directly addressing the issue at hand. It provides its endorsement and thesis immediately, before setting the context or providing evidence to lay the groundwork for reader adherence. This suggests that the *Sun* is confident that it shares common beliefs and values with its readers and that its stance will not surprise readers. By immediately revealing its position, the editorial also enhances the significance of the opinion and ensures that it will be foremost in readers' minds as they complete the editorial (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 116). Foregrounding its position in this manner enhances the ethos of the editorial by establishing a bond with readers, showing that it knows what is important to them. At the same time, with its indication of the significance of the subject, the endorsement begins to establish a pathetic appeal that is enhanced throughout the editorial.

The endorsement statement is written as a complex sentence, wherein the endorsement is a dependent clause introduced by the subordinate conjunction "while." Syntactically, the sentence illustrates the dependence or relationship between the endorsement and the attached conditions. The endorsement is reliant on the conditions, just as the endorsement clause is dependent on the main clause. However, the endorsement is positioned prominently

[SU.1] **While Sun Media today endorses the Conservatives in this election, it does not come unencumbered by caveats or conditions.**

[SU.2] It comes, instead, with warnings and serious strings attached, even as it reflects our strong belief that Stephen Harper needs a majority to make the changes this country desperately needs.

as the first thought in the sentence, a placement that presents the information as something readers may already know or as an accepted point of departure for the message. The information that follows sequentially is interpreted as "something which is not yet known or ... agreed upon" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 181); readers should therefore pay special attention. The endorsement does not lead to a call-to-action statement; rather, it aims to elicit or increase reader support for the subsequent thesis (Perelman, *Realm* 9), expecting that this will create a disposition to act at the appropriate moment (Perelman, *Realm* 20), a moment that the editorial assumes its readers will recognize without prompting. This qualified endorsement further enhances the editorial's

credibility by implying that the newspaper is offering a fair assessment of the situation, rather than a partisan endorsement of a preferred candidate. By raising these concerns early, the editorial assures readers that they have been considered in the initial assessment, but that, on the balance of probabilities, the Conservatives still deserve support. The sentence's impartial disposition echoes the ambivalent nature of the endorsement – support offset (to some degree) by concern. The endorsement clause is stated in a simple active structure: "Sun Media today endorses the Conservatives in this election." The editorial assumes a certain degree of background knowledge regarding the context of the election and the approaching vote. Using the term "today" emphasizes the currency of the opinion and its relevance to "this election." This qualification comprises one more subtle indication that the endorsement is not absolute, but is instead conditional and predicated on an analysis of the current situation. This indication is immediately reinforced by noting the relevant caveats and conditions attached to the *Sun*'s conditional support. It is echoed and elaborated upon in the subsequent thesis which provides the reasoning that guides the editorial's support.

The importance of that support is emphasized by repetition of the word "needs" in the stated reason that Harper "needs a majority to make the changes this country desperately needs" [SU.2, my emphasis]. Repetition of "needs" in conjunction with the adverb "desperately" reinforces the importance of the changes. These emotive words not only communicate the editorial's sense of urgency, but serve to encourage readers to adopt this viewpoint. Canada is depicted as being at a critical point that requires immediate action. The implied warrant underlying this claim relies on a basic belief in progress and a better country. Changes are needed to preserve the values that readers share with the paper. The editorial further invests in its own ethos by asserting its "strong belief" that Harper must receive a majority government to achieve these changes. This claim relies on readers' background knowledge of the electoral system to understand the significance of the requirement for a "majority" and thus draws readers further into the argument. The endorsement and the thesis statement are replete with negative constructions such as "does not come unencumbered" [SU.1] that force readers to de-construct the wording to arrive at its meaning. Employing the verb form "does not come" rather than "is not without" implies that the endorsement is offered to the public and to the party as a shared of

opinion provided for their consideration. Although a more direct wording would be clearer, the negative constructions force a reader to slow down to ponder the underlying meaning.

Apparently neutral terms – “warnings,” “caveat,” and “condition” – actually include negative concepts. A caveat is a legal term for warning that conveys a sense of gravitas owing to its provenance and limited daily usage. The term “conditions” provides an alliterative effect when juxtaposed with “caveat,” adding to the repetitive effect, but also providing a more informal word to clarify “caveat” for readers. Through their construction, the endorsement and thesis statements ensure that readers pay attention as they pause to determine their exact meaning.

To reinforce its ambivalent message, the form of the endorsement and thesis statements echo that of Aristotle’s rhetorical figure of *chiasmus*, described as “reverse parallelism” (Harris “Chiasmus”). This arrangement reverses the order of grammatical structures in successive phrases or clauses (Corbett 478). The structures are rearranged crosswise, reflecting the Greek letter *chi*, which looks like an X (Lanham 22; Crowley and Hawhee 298). Therefore, the first clause of the first sentence is echoed in structure or content by the last clause of the second sentence. Similarly, the second clause of the first sentence is mirrored in the first clause of the second sentence. In the editorial, the endorsement statement and thesis statement, following one after another, reflect this form of antithesis or juxtaposition of contrasting ideas (Lanham 12, Corbett 464):

While Sun Media today endorses the Conservatives in this election, it does not come unencumbered by caveats or conditions.

It comes, instead, with warnings and serious strings attached, even as it reflects our strong belief that Stephen Harper needs a majority to make the changes this country desperately needs. [SU.1, 2]

Graphically portraying the structure illustrates how the arrangement of thoughts is reversed:

Endorsement – Caveats

Caveats – Endorsement

The repetition of the structure and ideas signals that the thoughts are important (Crowley 293).

At the same time, the repetition reinforces the relationship or juxtaposition of the two concepts – there is no endorsement unless the conditions are met. Within the clauses, substituting “warnings

and serious strings” for “caveat and conditions” demonstrates *synonymia*, or amplification by synonym (Lanham 97). Using words that are similar in meaning not only allows a writer to repeat an important point (Crowley and Hawhee 293), it allows the writer to offer a broader and more nuanced interpretation of the concept. Some *Sun* readers may not be familiar with the term “caveat,” but all understand the meaning of “conditions.” The words “warnings and serious strings attached” are not only more informal, but serve to intensify the seriousness of the conditions and present the conditional aspect of the endorsement in a manner with which readers can identify. Drawing attention to these ideas of qualified support through the use of stylistic devices enhances the argument’s credibility by making it clearer and more memorable, aspects which also appeal to an audience’s emotions.

The *Sun* furthers its credibility with readers by commending Harper for his “deft handling” of the recession and his success on the economic front. By suggesting that this “should not go unrewarded” [SU.3], the editorial invokes the democratic principle that voters have the right to choose for whom they

[SU.3]Because Canada’s future economic health is the forefront issue, Harper’s deft handling of the recession cannot be understated, and it should not go unrewarded.

[SU.4]But here’s some Hard News and Straight Talk for the Tories.

[SU.5]They had better deliver.

wish to vote. Success at the polls is compared to being rewarded for good service, or for promised service. The implied warrant in this claim is that a strong economy is valued by readers, and that a good government and/or leader implements policies that will ensure economic health, even in times of recession. By choosing to address this point first, the editorial gives the economy a primary presence (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 116) in readers’ minds. The focus on the economy assures readers that the editorial knows which issues they are concerned about – because these are also issues of concern to the paper. Ethos is further enhanced by the subsequent claims addressed to the Tories. The two statements, “But here’s some Hard News and Straight Talk for the Tories. They had better deliver” [SU.4, 5], are the first of the “warnings” promised in the thesis. These two claims represent an enthymeme; some of the premises that are missing and must be supplied by readers include the fact that the phrase “Hard News and Straight Talk” has meaning in its literal form, but more significantly, it will be widely recognized as the slogan of the *Sun*’s television presence, Sun News Network. The right-leaning network,

launched in 2011 amidst controversy and in the middle of the election campaign, promised to deliver an opinionated and oppositional voice that is more right-wing than existing news channels (Chase “Here”). By implication, the *Sun* editorial suggests it is directing the same type of clarity and outspoken commentary at the Tories. In other words, the *Sun* as a paper is taking on the responsibility of watching the government to ensure that it fulfills its promises and meets the caveats and conditions set out in the editorial. Supporting this premise is the democratic principle that the opposition’s role is to question the government and ensure that it remains honest. The *Sun*, through its editorial, is assuming that role on behalf of its readers, creating a strong ethical appeal that it maintains in the succeeding context paragraph.

The *Sun*’s competence and right to critique the government rests on its long-held values and beliefs.

The *Sun* implies that the values it espouses are not opportunistic, but stem “from the day we took our first breath” in 1971 [SU.6]. This personification of the *Sun*

[SU.6] From the day we took our first breath, what has become the largest newspaper chain in Canada has always stood for the advancement of small-c conservatism, and our demand for transparency in a smaller but efficient government has never wavered.

newspaper and its chain depicts them as living entities that think, feel, and, by extension, can offer opinions. This impact is bolstered with an argument based on quantity – the *Sun* chain is the largest in Canada – a factual claim that it assumes will be accepted. Though not officially affiliated with any party, the *Sun* (as an individual paper and as a chain) “has always stood” for these small-c conservative values that are based on conservative principles. By eschewing a party link, the paper sets itself up as an ostensibly independent observer unfettered by allegiances and thus free to comment and criticize at will. The editorial provides an example: “our demand for transparency in a smaller but efficient government” [SU.6]. By enumerating some of its values, the editorial shows readers that they have much in common, thus creating a sense of identification (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20-23). While the implied claim of being an unbiased observer is disputable, its ethical appeal creates a bond with readers who support the implications of “straight talk.” Underlying this contextual and ethical statement is the assurance that these are traits expected from any good government, and that the *Sun* is watching out for its readers’ best interests. The editorial thereby establishes its claim to being a credible source of opinion and

advice, based on its guiding values that are shared with readers and the consistency with which it has embraced them throughout these 40-plus years.

The *Sun* warns that it is not afraid of the government, and criticizes Harper for creating a “bloated” civil service [SU.7]. The editorial’s only use of data supports its contention that “one in seven eligible voters” [SU.8] is on the federal payroll. The precision of this data and its presentation as an easily understood concept helps readers connect with the example and recognize its significance. But the colourful description that separates Canadians into two groups constitutes the editorial’s strongest ethical appeal. In Canada, there are “takers” who comprise the civil service and take from the federal treasury, and there are “makers,” the taxpayers who fund these salaries [SU.8]. By opposing these groups, the editorial forces readers to self-identify with one or the other group. Given the negative description of “takers,” readers, most of whom are likely also taxpayers, are readily inclined to join with the paper in the group of “makers,” creating a stronger link of common interests between the two. The growth of a bloated civil service sector is shown to violate these common values favouring smaller government and fiscal responsibility. Similarly, Harper is shown to be hypocritical; he vowed to provide accountability and transparency, then did the opposite by stifling the free flow of information [SU.10]. Utilizing the CBC debacle renders the example recognizable and enhances its value as support for the criticism. But it also illustrates the implied warrant that the traits of transparency and accountability are supported by the *Sun* as hallmarks of a good government.

[SU.7] Under Harper’s watch, however, the federal civil service has sadly become even more bloated. [SU.8] In fact, one in seven eligible voters tomorrow takes from the public purse — meaning we have too many “takers” in Canada and not enough “makers.”

[SU.9] This has to end.

[SU.10] In 2006, Harper vowed accountability and transparency in his government yet then proceeded, among other things, to muzzle his caucus and stifle the flow of public information, including on Crown corporations — like the CBC — that should already be on the government’s website, not falsely wrapped in secrecy.

The editorial amplifies the traits of government in a comparative manner as it outlines the “destructive path” that would result from a Liberal or NDP government, implying that the opposite would occur if the Tories are elected. This strategy portrays the opponents in a negative light, while at the same time elevating the image of the Conservatives. Although this prognosis is opinion, it is presented as fact and can therefore have a more persuasive impact (Perelman and

Olbrechts-Tyteca 243). Its emotive language also works to persuade readers of the prediction's validity. Using such negative words – “destructive,” “over-sated,” “refusing to reduce taxation,” and “unaffordable” deficit [SU.11] triggers connections as the traits described so obviously contravene the readers' values and, by extension, are not valued in a government. Through its warrants, the editorial constructs a picture of how good government operates and how the Conservatives rank in comparison to this standard. Further contrasts illustrate one of the principal ways Harper is preferable to Layton or Ignatieff. Using the enthymeme that “making hard decisions for the good of the country is not in their genes. But it should be in Harper's” [SU.12, 13] asserts that the opposition leaders do not have the traits needed to make tough decisions, but that Harper “should.” It also requires readers to provide many of the underlying premises. The reference to Harper's genetic (thus inherent) ability to make hard decisions draws on knowledge of Harper's political roots as a Reform Party member. The argument relies on the concept that people are manifestations of their essence or inner character. Leaders like Harper are not expected to stray far from their ingrained ideological or personal roots. Acting contrary to their beliefs or roots suggests hypocrisy. By omitting some of these premises, the argument invites readers to participate by filling in the gaps. Readers who can do so thus contribute information that is pertinent and reflective of their own values, with the result that they help create the argument and proofs and increase their adherence to the *Sun*'s viewpoint.

In prior paragraphs, Ignatieff and Layton are treated as if they could be grouped categorically without further discussion (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 144). By branding them as one and the same, or at least as being in a category discrete from Harper's, the criticism attached to one colours the perception of the other. This transmission and assembling of negative points adds to the strength of the

[SU.11]If a Harper majority is not achieved, however, we shudder at the destructive path Michael Ignatieff's Liberals or Jack Layton's NDP — alone or in cahoots — will take by refusing to address the over-sated public service, refusing to reduce taxation, and then pushing the deficit to truly unaffordable heights.

[SU.12]Making hard decisions for the good of the country is not in their genes.

[SU.13]But it should be in Harper's.

[SU.14]Ignatieff is a patrician, high in forehead but short on insight. [SU.15]He knows next to nothing about the country he abandoned for more than 30 years, yet he somehow expects to be consecrated based on his perceived Liberal entitlement. [SU.16]And Jack knows jack. [SU.17]There he was this past week, promising to lower taxes at the pump in one breath while calling for cap-and-trade in the next — a scheme proven to cause an even greater skyrocketing of home-heating, electricity and gas prices.

implication that neither has the traits necessary to be considered a potential prime minister. The metaphoric comparison of Ignatieff to a patrician repeats a criticism commonly levelled at him throughout his political career. Patrician refers to the aristocratic families of ancient Rome, and, in modern usage, has become a synonym for “aristocratic” or governing elite. In addition to highlighting Ignatieff’s upper class background, this claim inserts a wedge between readers and this modern-day patrician by emphasizing that he is not an average citizen – not “one of us” (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20). By resorting to this name-calling or argument *ad hominem* (“to the man”), the editorial switches the focus from issues to a discussion of personalities (Corbett 91). Although discussing character is a valid tactic used to establish credibility, in this case, it is not relevant to the traits a good leader should have, and is therefore immaterial and constitutes a fallacious argument. The metaphor is then expanded to physical characteristics, arguing that Ignatieff is “high on forehead and short on insight” [SU.14]. This antithetical figure joins contrasting ideas (Lanham 135) to emphasize their disparity. Commenting that Ignatieff is “high on forehead” connotes his intelligence and alludes to his former occupation as an academic – a role likely to prompt negative connotations among some readers – but the contrasting comment that he is “short on insight” suggests that he does not know what is best for Canada or how to solve its problems, that he lacks common sense and political awareness. The lack of concrete examples supporting these claims similarly establishes a form of name-calling, but the deft choice of words effectively draws attention to the criticisms. The editorial also claims that Ignatieff “knows next to nothing about the country” because he abandoned it for more than 30 years. The flaw in this non-sequitur argument stems from the break in the chain of reasoning; the conclusions do not follow from the premises (Corbett 86). Living outside the country is no indication that Ignatieff, as an academic and as a leader of a Canadian party, would not know about the country. The elitist criticism is revived in the suggestion that he wants to be “consecrated” because he feels entitled. The underlying warrant is that leaders and parties must earn the right to govern by showing they are emotionally and physically invested in the good of the country and in its belief system. The metaphor allows the *Sun* to exaggerate for the sake of emphasis. Metaphors can establish powerful common sense associations, associations that do not

seem to require much in the way of justification or explanation (Conboy, *Language of the News* 40).

Layton is also described using inflammatory statements. Invoking the colloquial phrase that “Jack knows jack” [SU.16] employs an informal, almost blasphemous, phraseology and a play on words to imply that Layton knows nothing. The slogan conveys an aura of factuality to what is essentially a value judgment (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 166), with the presumption that it will elicit an emotional response and agreement from readers. As proof of this lack of political and economic acumen, the example highlights the conflict inherent in his policies. Layton promises to lower gas taxes, while at the same time advocating policies that would inevitably have the opposite effect. This assumes readers have some background knowledge of the importance of the cap-and-trade proposal, but, to reinforce that assumption and increase this reason’s significance, the editorial offers a succinct illustration of the effect – raising the costs of heat, hydro, and gas. Although the cap-and-trade approach is extremely complex, the editorial reduces it to these basic effects. The stated reason is a quasi-logical appeal, but it is essentially an example of the logical fallacy of oversimplification. Cap-and-trade, as the controversy surrounding it and the myriad documents detailing its effects can attest, is a multi-faceted policy that is not easily explained. This form of faulty generalization (Corbett 89) diverts attention from the complexity of the solution. However, the example is persuasive for readers because it links the issue to their everyday concerns, allowing them to see how it will affect them in particular. Describing the effects as “even greater skyrocketing” [SU.17] of prices provides a threatening picture of its economic effects, thereby heightening the pathetic appeal. Both of these critiques rely on arguments that invoke emotional appeals. The figurative descriptions and vivid adjectives draw attention to the criticisms and make them memorable. Because they are emotionally caught up in the argument, readers do not question their underlying logic to uncover the weaknesses or fallacies.

[SU.18] From the outset of the campaign, the promises Harper put forward had a responsible timeline for a balanced budget by 2014, and it was not based on maxing Canada’s credit and then taxing Canadians into utter despair.

The final paragraphs continue to evoke reader emotions. In contrast to the threatening image of the opposition leaders, Harper is presented as a moderate. His “responsible” timeline

for a “balanced budget” [SU.18] is proffered as a logical argument, relying on the reasonable assumption that fiscal prudence is essential in a government, and that deficits impact the future prosperity of the country. The claim and grounds show that Harper embodies the traits of good governance (in the small-c tradition), providing a balanced budget and lower taxes. Harper benefits from the comparison with Layton’s previously mentioned contradictory fiscal policies and with the vague references to other leaders’ policies that would “max and tax” [SU.18]. This description of alternative policies is memorable for its rhyming and simplicity; it extends the emotional attachment by linking these alternative policies to the negative sentiment of despair to emphasize their damaging effects. The final statement involves a logical appeal, based on the principles of democratic government. That taxpayers “foot every bill” [SU.19] is an accepted fact. The claim that Harper must “unequivocally” respect this relies on readers to supply the missing premise: members of parliament, including the prime minister, serve at the pleasure of the electorate. In other words, taxpayers pay for government, thus they essentially employ their politicians. Despite their apparently lofty positions as rulers of the country, members of the government are, in many aspects, employees of the taxpayer. This statement reinforces the concepts of accountability, fiscal responsibility in handling other people’s money, and transparency – all values that the *Sun* expects in government. By describing the government/taxpayer relationship in terms to which all readers can relate, the editorial crystalizes its argument and clarifies the separation between government and taxpayer.

[SU.19] After all, it’s the taxpayers who foot every bill, and Harper must respect this undeniable fact unequivocally.
[SU.20] Otherwise, we will go for his political throat like no dog on a bone ever seen.
[SU.21] You, Stephen Harper, are not their boss.

The editorial endorsement of the Tories is heavily qualified by clarifying that the endorsement is conditional on the Tories remaining true to the small-c conservative values that readers support, values that also comprise the *Sun*’s bedrock beliefs. In its final ultimatum, the *Sun* vows to take the Tories to task if Harper does not “respect” these fundamental relations by governing according to the shared values it espouses in its editorial. As the champion of the underdog and a crusader for the little person, the editorial vows to protect these values by keeping watch over the Tories. The threat to “go for his political throat” [SU.20] reinforces the editorial’s ethos as a persistent, “dogged” defender of readers and

taxpayers (underdogs, figuratively) with a metaphor that helps readers understand the gravity of the threat.

The final sentences repeat the figure of *chiasmus* and antithesis from the beginning of the editorial. As noted then, the figure of *chiasmus* or “reverse parallelism” (Harris “Chiasmus”) emphasizes and draws attention to the distinctions. The physical structure of these two sentences demonstrates the balanced and oppositional effects.

You, Stephen Harper, are not their boss.

They are yours.

The first sentence identifies that the message is directed personally at Harper, but transforms it for the second into the possessive pronoun “yours.” Similarly, the idea of “their boss” transforms to “they.” These ideas stand out because of the balanced nature of the sentences. In addition, their simplified structure reinforces the dual nature of the employer/employee relationship. The chiasmic structure’s rhythm echoes that of the initial thesis and endorsement, thus linking the two closely together. As the editorial progresses, the emotional tenor increases, ensuring that readers will be so caught up in supporting the argument emotionally that they do not recognize or question the logical fallacies involved. The emotional response engendered by the editorial concludes by confirming that the taxpayer is Harper’s boss, which hopefully increases the level of investment readers feel towards the outcome of the election. Although the editorial does not provide a call-to-action by directing readers to support or vote for Harper and the Conservatives, this final identification of readers/taxpayers as the “boss” of the government provides a strong reason to take action; it is their job to vote for the best person to be their boss.

The *Sun* editorial recognizes three separate groups: Stephen Harper and the Conservatives, readers (and taxpayers), and the *Sun* newspaper as represented in the editorial’s text. The argument moves back and forth between the three groups, yet they never overlap or join. The newspaper may share common values with its readers, but they are not considered to be of the same group. The initial endorsement employs the passive tense and is voiced in the third-person, to the extent that the editorial refers to itself in the third person. By attributing the endorsement to “Sun Media,” the editorial seeks to enhance its ethos by aligning the endorsement with the large, national presence of the chain of newspapers. The paper inserts itself

to present “our strong belief” [SU.2] that Harper needs a majority in the election. Here, and throughout much of the editorial, comments are addressed to readers, with the expectation that they will also be overheard by Harper and the Conservatives, and indeed, by all politicians. However, although framed in the third person, some of the warnings and threats are clearly directed at the Tories. Comments such as “They had better deliver” [SU.5] and “This has to end” [SU.9] establish the editorial’s ethos by showing that the paper is not afraid to criticize the government. Both of these cryptic statements also carry an implied warning to the government that [You] “had better deliver” – or else ... Although the implied threat is not detailed until the editorial’s concluding lines, it remains in readers’ minds throughout. The editorial’s context-setting paragraph centres the argument upon Sun Media as an entity by emphasizing its intellectual history and foregrounding its unwavering beliefs. This ethos-building paragraph accentuates the views assumed to be shared with readers and allows the editorial to establish its status as the readers’ champion, a position it draws on later. The editorial uses “we” to describe its assessment of the political scene if Harper does not receive a majority, but the “we” here is only the paper and the editorial. It excludes readers, since they are unlikely to call the public service “oversated” or the deficit as “reaching unaffordable heights” [SU.11], descriptions generated from the *Sun*’s self-proclaimed vantage point as an astute observer and a credible commentator.

In the concluding refutation, the three groups continue to be distinct. Rather than addressing readers as “you,” given their presumed dual capacity as readers/taxpayers, the editorial refers to them in the third person, as if this role is clearly separated from their role as readers. In the same fashion, it distinguishes the roles of the editorial writers and the newspaper chain itself from their roles as taxpayers with its declaration that “It’s the taxpayers who foot every bill” [SU.19]. In the final two sentences, the editorial turns away from the readers it has been addressing and directs its warnings specifically to Harper. While this rhetorical strategy could potentially distance readers from the editorial, its primary effect is to establish the editorial’s legitimacy as an unbiased observer. Attributing the comments to the newspaper as an entity might render the paper vulnerable to charges of self-interest, particularly where taxation is concerned. The editorial thus establishes that it sits firmly on the sidelines, ensuring that the rules

of engagement between government and taxpayer are observed: You, reader, are the taxpayer who foots the bill. You, Stephen Harper, are the employee. We, the *Sun* newspaper chain, are the champion of the people, protecting their rights and privileges. The *Sun* sets itself up as the referee or enforcer in the game of politics.

Discussion

The Sun Media editorial, “*Sun* Backs Stephen Harper,” is a passionate endorsement of the Conservative Party and its leader. However, the editorial is quick to point out that this endorsement is qualified by warnings and conditions. As a result, the *Sun* uses the editorial to reprimand Harper and the Conservatives about past actions, and to outline how the party must improve in the next term.

Instead of relying on evidence and quasi-logical arguments to create adherence to its stance, the *Sun* invokes appeals to ethos and pathos, trusting its assumption that readers share its basic conservative values. The *Sun* enhances its credibility with readers as a knowledgeable observer by discussing issues and policies they are particularly interested in. The editorial offers critiques of all three parties, perhaps even more so in the case of Harper and the Conservatives, a rhetorical move that increases the editorial’s ethos as a dispassionate observer of the political scene. The *Sun*, self-described as offering straight talk, shows that it is not a mouthpiece for politicians. The editorial relies on this ethos, shared with both readers and, to some extent, with politicians, for the right to deliver this advice. The editorial also engages readers’ sympathies by relying on their background knowledge, particularly through the use of enthymemic structures, *chiasmus*, vivid figures of speech, and other rhetorical devices. A reader’s emotional involvement tends to obscure the argument’s underlying logical fallacies and weaknesses; the editorial develops an effective emotional attachment and a feeling that the paper cares about its readers, illustrated by its pledge to keep Harper honest. The increasingly strong emotional appeal culminates in a final reprimand and warning to Harper that places the editorial in the role of protector of its readers’ interests. Although the editorial does not include a call-to-action directing readers to support or vote for Harper and the Conservatives, this final appeal to the emotions provides readers with a strong motivation to ensure that their values are represented

after the election. Although the *Sun* shows that the Conservatives are not perfect, it draws on the emotional attachment of readers to trust it to ensure that Harper and the Conservatives deliver on their promises.

With its strong emotional appeals, the *Sun* provides an example of the sustained use of the epideictic genre. Ignatieff and Layton are praised and blamed in almost the same breath. The editorial praises Harper for his “responsible” timelines and his “deft handling” of the recession, using these examples to show that he is a good manager. At the same time, the editorial employs the forensic or judicial genre to assess past performance and accuse Harper of a lack of accountability and transparency. In fact, Harper receives the bulk of the criticism in this editorial, and the editorial clearly censures him for past performance with its closing threat that he could be fired.

This editorial is not about deliberations to determine the best course for Canada, although that motive is clearly evident in the *Sun*’s viewpoint. That deliberative work has already been accomplished by the *Sun*, which takes for granted that readers will not want to read those discussions and considerations. Rather, readers will trust and accept the claims or conclusions reached by the *Sun*, which become the starting point of the editorial. The *Sun* instead revels in the use of the epideictic and forensic genres to build its ethos and to put the Tories on notice that the *Sun* will be monitoring their performance. The *Sun* builds a strong pathetic argument to ensure that readers become emotionally engaged, and thereby wholeheartedly supportive of the *Sun*’s opinion.

3.2.6 Concluding Comments

These endorsement editorials are a response to a perceived exigence or problem in the spring of 2011. Canadians were going to the polls yet again, amidst concerns about the economy and stability in government after years of minority mandates. Newspapers weighed in on what they considered the major issues of the day (Conboy, *Language of the News* 82). At the same time, they provided readers with opinions and judgments about those issues, seeking to persuade them of the reasonableness of these opinions with the expressed goal of gaining or increasing

reader adherence. In order to accomplish this goal, the editorials in this set employ various argumentative strategies. I will highlight some of the findings from my study, focusing on their use of the three forms of rhetoric.

The *Globe* editorial relies on an expectation that readers will share its vision of democratic values, a world presence, and an economically sound country. The *Globe* argument is deliberative in nature as it explores the means to achieve this goal. It supports its endorsement of Harper as the means to the desired end with logical arguments, based on examples and facts. However, it also invokes ethos and pathos appeals to support its argument. It establishes itself as a reliable source, and uses the forensic or judicial genre to criticize the past actions of all parties and the epideictic to praise and assess all leaders.

The *Post* presents an argument incorporating significantly more logos-based appeals. The editorial is densely packed with reasons incorporating government actions, legislation, and other significant details. This quasi-logical argument is also primarily deliberative as the *Post* frames its question as the choice of who should lead Canada forward. However, the logical and deliberative are supported by emotional and ethical appeals. The *Post* invokes the shared value of stability which creates a connection with readers. Similarly, its epideictic praise of Harper and the critique of other candidates allows readers to develop empathy with the viewpoints. Although the logical and deliberative are foremost, they are strongly supplemented by the other forms and appeals.

The *Toronto Star* dis-endorsement editorial foregrounds emotional appeals as it focuses on a negative instantiation of epideictic rhetoric. The *Star* does not praise Harper, but rather blames him – employing forensic rhetoric as it argues why he does not deserve another mandate. The implicit argument and the use of the enthymeme increase this emotional appeal. By forcing readers to supply the missing premises in an enthymemic structure, or other aspects of the argument, the editorial positions readers as creators of their own persuasion. This editorial is not about the future, but rather is focused on the past and the present, thus foregoing the forward perspective of deliberation.

The second *Star* editorial is an interesting contrast, in that it focuses on the future. The editorial employs deliberative rhetoric as it attempts to persuade readers that the NDP are the

best party to lead Canada forward, utilizing examples and reason. The claims assume readers also share this vision of what is good for the country. Forensic rhetoric, assessing the NDP and their potential to govern, is employed to support the deliberations as well as some epideictic rhetoric as the editorial criticizes or blames other leaders. Deliberative rhetoric may be predominant, but it is supplemented by emotional appeals. The two editorials work together, with the first one focusing on an emotional response in readers, and this second one utilizing deliberative rhetoric with appeals to logos as it moves readers toward support of a different party. The synergy and interaction of the two editorials warrants further study to consider the argumentative effects of such a two-stage argument.

The *Sun* editorial, however, has no expectation of deliberating on the best course of action for Canada. It has already decided that the Conservatives can, and will, provide the best government, and uses its rhetorical argumentation to build an emotional response in readers to increase their adherence to its position. The *Sun* employs a number of rhetorical figures and tropes to secure reader adherence to its position. The rhetorical figure of *chiasmus*, in essence inverted sentences, is used to begin and end the editorial, adding to the emotional impact. This emotional intensity obscures the logical fallacies in the argument. The epideictic form is employed to criticize the opposition leaders but also to praise – and blame – Harper. The editorial works primarily to enhance the ethos of the *Sun* in its constructed confrontational role with Harper. The *Sun* editorial is not an argumentation about the future, but rather about establishing the present. While this corpus is far too small to allow conclusions or generalization about endorsement editorials, I do observe the reliance of editorials on shared beliefs and values. Each of the editorials relies on connecting with readers to create a commonality or form of identification [Burke, *Rhetoric* 20]. Even the logically-based, deliberative editorials of the *Globe*, *Post*, and *Star* 2 incorporate ethical and pathetic appeals. In contrast, the *Sun* and *Star* 1 rely heavily on the emotional appeals, conveyed in large part by epideictic rhetoric.

These observations would suggest that editorials gain persuasive strength from the combination of the genres of rhetoric such as deliberative, epideictic, and forensic. Although an argument may primarily rely on one form, the others are employed to supplement and enhance. Similarly, the appeals tend to work together to create a stronger argument. Even the logically

based argument of the *Post* draws on the emotional appeal inherent in the use of multiple endorsements, as well as *kairos* to encourage readers to take action.

Now that I have investigated how the editorials arrange or position their elements, and the argumentative strategies that they incorporate, I turn my attention to the reader of these persuasive texts: the audience. In the next chapter, I examine the concepts of audience or reader, as applicable to the sample endorsement editorials, and consider how the editorial creates a relationship with its reader.

Chapter 4

Audience

Newspapers use their editorial pages to hold conversations with their readers: to comment on events in the community, to applaud public actions, to criticize government policies, and to offer advice on future activities. As persuasive texts, editorials combine Aristotle's three forms of rhetoric: they exemplify forensic rhetoric when they pass judgment on previous actions; they take an epideictic form when they praise or blame politicians; and they embody deliberative rhetoric when they argue for the best course of action for the community or the nation (Aristotle 1358b). In this sample set, newspapers use their editorial forums to articulate positions regarding what they deem to be central political matters (Conboy, *Language of the News* 9). These editorials give their stamp of approval or endorsement to the party and/or leader they consider best suited to form the next government; some editorials augment this support by encouraging readers to support and/or vote for party favored by the newspaper.

How an editorial positions the newspaper in relation to its readers and in relation to political structures may reveal values and beliefs that the newspaper supports as an institution. These beliefs, attitudes, and practices constitute ways of looking at the world and provide modes by which group members can act as if they share general aims and values (Richardson 116). In many cases, they may be the "taken for granted" or commonsense means by which people conduct their daily business. When people recognize that they share these values and beliefs with others, they are rendered "consubstantial" by virtue of the shared trait, in as much as they then "identify" with each other (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20–23), a process that creates a basis for persuasion. Readers who identify with the values incorporated in an editorial may be inclined to accept or support the viewpoints espoused. In their role as economic institutions, newspapers have always created readers, not news, as their primary function (Conboy, *Language of Newspapers* 7). These appeals to readers, or potential readers, are contained not only in the issues covered or given presence, but in the manner in which they are described. The language of a news medium is an

exercise in audience design (Bell, “Language” 161). The register, style of language, what is written about, and how it is written create a textual version of an ideal reader (Conboy, *Language of the News* 11), and it is to this ideal reader that the editorial directs its argument. By drawing on the values that it shares with this invoked reader, the editorial creates identification that can result in increased adherence to the message presented. A close reading of the language choices and selection of issues in the sample endorsement editorials can reveal aspects of the values that the newspaper, as an institution, considers important.

The editorials in this sample set incorporate support for democratic principles. Their very existence exemplifies a newspaper’s perceived civic duty to comment on the impending federal election, rather than to advocate resistance or suggest a forcible method of changing or retaining government. The newspapers use their editorial forums to educate, advise, and otherwise help readers understand the issues at stake so they can make informed choices at the ballot box. Democracy depends on engaged citizens; these newspapers assume responsibility for educating and encouraging readers to fulfill their civic duties. The decision to write and publish an editorial, rather than a news story, illustrates the newspaper’s commitment to the traditional separation of “objective” news from the overtly subjective or opinionated material traditionally printed on the editorial pages (Conboy, *Language of the News* 8). The editorial draws on the ethos a newspaper establishes as a credible and well-informed commentator. At the same time, presenting an opinion in this textual form indicates the editorial’s inherent power since its use is restricted to a select group of a newspaper’s employees (Meltzer 85). Only those designated as editorial writers, or authorized by management, have access to the textual form known as an editorial. Constraints on the space reserved for editorials, particularly in comparison to space allocated for news and other textual genres, as well as the limited number of practitioners, restricts the number of editorials written and published.

Shared values form the basis or starting point of argumentation, as discussed in chapter 3, so it is beneficial to explore how they are presented textually. In this chapter, I consider several questions concerning an editorial’s audience or readers. The first involves how each newspaper positions itself in relation to readers; editorials can align themselves with readers and/or with societal power structures such as government, or they can maintain their independence as

observers and commentators. To examine this positioning, I trace the editorial's use of the pronoun "we" to determine what group or groups it includes, or if its use is limited to the editorial as the voice of the newspaper. I also discuss the reader or audience that the editorial assumes will identify with the values espoused (Burke, *Rhetoric* 55) and how this audience correlates to the readership of the newspapers. Some of the values that a newspaper upholds are incorporated in the type of government that it envisions as the best choice for Canada. I therefore examine the differing visions of government that each editorial promotes, particularly as it is revealed through the conception of leadership.

This chapter first explores the theoretical concepts of audience and reader. The sample texts are subsequently examined to consider how the editorial positions the newspaper in relation to its readership and to other institutions such as government and political parties. A survey of how the editorial textually reveals its concept of government and leadership, and what that might suggest for its understanding of its reader concludes this chapter.

4.1 Theoretical Framework

4.1.1 Audience and Reader as Concepts

The importance of audience – whether it be listener or reader – is established by Aristotle: "For of the three elements in speech-making – speaker, subject, and person addressed – it is the last one, the hearer, that determines the speech's end and object" (1358b). This emphasis on the hearer or listener is confirmed by other theorists. Audience is a primary, if not *the* primary, factor influencing discourse (Porter, *Audience* 2), a concept that results in the consistently offered advice to "consider your reader." I survey differing conceptions of audience in the context of rhetorical studies that inform my investigation of audience or reader in the editorial texts considered here.

Audience generally refers to those to whom an oral or written discourse is addressed. Classical rhetoric imagines a body of people physically gathered, playing the role of either voting audience or passive spectator. Although Aristotle considers listeners' emotional states and

distinguishes only male listeners according to age, fortune, and birth, he does not necessarily connect how these features might influence rhetors' decisions about a speech's content or construction (Porter, "Audience" 44). Although Aristotle's conceptions of audience are based on a speaker/listener relationship, his views, and those of later theorists, apply just as effectively to written texts, for the most part. Therefore, in this discussion, the terms "audience" and "reader" are used interchangeably. Rhetorical theory establishes the importance of audience. *The New Rhetoric*, by Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, and *The Uses of Argument*, by Stephen Toulmin, affirm that the audience's beliefs and values should form the primary basis for constructing argumentation. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca note, "it is in terms of an audience that an argumentation develops" (5). *The New Rhetoric* envisions two types of rhetorical audiences: the "universal audience," which is broadly interpreted as the whole of mankind (30-31), and the particular audience that is bound together by shared attributes or attitudes to form a subsection of that universal audience. An appeal to the universal audience includes unquestioned beliefs and values that all rational beings subscribe to, whereas an appeal to a particular audience involves specific values that might not be accepted by a different particular audience. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca stress the utility of reasoning strategies that writers share in common with audiences and that must be effectively employed and applied to convince audiences. They further assert that all rhetorical audiences, both universal and particular, are constructed by the speaker (20); however, the conceived audience should, as much as possible, conform to reality. Speeches addressed to a universal audience focus on matters of fact and truth, whereas those addressed to a particular audience seek to transform opinions in the realm of values (Gross 203). Public address is an example of discourse focused primarily on values. Arguments designed to successfully convince a particular audience may not be effective with the values of the universal audience.

Toulmin's argumentation theory similarly establishes that an audience's beliefs and values should ground decisions regarding the choice of persuasion used, and that they comprise the starting point for constructing arguments. In his argumentation schema, warrants are the underlying assumptions that allow an audience to connect grounds with a claim. Toulmin's incorporation of the importance of beliefs is comparable to Perelman's use of values and beliefs and to Aristotle's advice that "the orator has therefore to guess the subjects on which his hearers

hold views already, and what those views are, and then must express, as general truths, these same views on these same subjects” (1395b).

Theoretical definitions of audience have tended to take one of two general directions:

one toward actual people external to a text, the audience whom the writer must accommodate: the other toward the text itself and the audience implied there, a set of suggested or evoked attitudes, interests, reactions, conditions of knowledge which may or may not fit with the qualities of actual readers or listeners. (Park 249)

These concepts are not necessarily incompatible. In an editorial, for example, the newspaper and/or writer has a general knowledge of reader demographics and assumed values based upon readership surveys and other research collected for business purposes. Although an editorial may be addressed to a known particular audience, it may also address readers outside those parameters, either because they are implicated in the discussion or for the purpose of gaining broader adherence to the opinions expressed.

In their seminal essay, “Audience Addressed/Audience Invoked: The Role of Audience in Composition Theory,” Lisa Ede and Andrea Lunsford examine these distinct conceptions of audience, grouping them under the terms of “audience addressed” and “audience invoked” (156). Neither concept, they suggest, is sufficient to account for the “fluid, dynamic character of rhetorical situations” or for the integrated, interdependent nature of reading and writing (156). Writers “addressing” an audience focus on a concrete, specific audience and assume that knowledge of that audience’s attitudes, beliefs, and expectations is essential to composition, whereas writers who “invoke” an audience fictionalize their readers, defining the roles in which they want their reader to respond to the text. Ede and Lunsford argue for a synthesis of the two concepts to acknowledge the creativity and interdependence of writer and reader and to consider audience in the rhetorical context (96). In a later article, Lunsford and Ede argue that a writer must further consider the aspect of diversity in an audience. Walter Ong’s work adds a further dimension to these conceptions of audience by suggesting that the “writer must construct in his imagination, clearly or vaguely, an audience cast in some sort of role.” However, the audience

must also participate. “The audience must correspondingly fictionalize itself. A reader has to play the role in which the author has cast him ...” (Ong 12). Readers playing the expected role must be open-minded about the arguments put forth and, moreover, must be both willing and able to respond (Bitzer, “Rhetorical” 221). Writers use semantic and syntactic resources of language to “provide cues for the reader – cues which help to define the role or roles the writer wishes the reader to adopt in responding to the text” (Ede and Lunsford 160). These cues draw a reader into the text and the argument.

An editorial writer’s use of linguistic resources to provide cues to readers is an important aspect of establishing a persuasive argument. A writer may seek to establish the role of a receptive or questioning reader, a co-conspirator, or a fellow traveller on an intellectual path by using definite articles or demonstrative pronouns, metaphors, rhetorical figures, and varied sentence structures and arrangements to increase a reader’s propensity to be receptive to the arguments. Ong cites how referring to “that year” creates familiarity between writers and readers and implies shared information regarding the import of that particular period (13). Invoking a sense of common experience creates a pathetic appeal for readers that renders them more agreeable to listen and more likely to accede to the argument. Similarly, editorials employ enthymemic constructions or arguments in which reasons are implied, forcing readers to fill in the gaps using background knowledge they are assumed to possess. Ede and Lunsford emphasize the importance of readers’ experiences, expectations, and beliefs: “The writer who does not consider the needs and interests of his audience risks losing that audience” (165). Writers select events to foreground, or give presence to, but this choice of “the set of things that are admitted and ... liable to have an effect on the [audience’s] reactions” depends on the interaction between the audience and the writer (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 115). Writers must know their audience, or at least their values, beliefs, and knowledge. “The act of rhetoric begins not with the rhetor persuading the audience but with the rhetor being persuaded by – in Burke’s term, identifying with – social norms, customs, in another sense, the audience” (Porter, *Audience* 115). This sense of identification (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20) – or shared assumptions, beliefs, or values between editorial and audience – provides a solid basis for argumentation.

Lloyd Bitzer sets out two conditions for any audience in a rhetorical situation: they must be amenable to being influenced by discourse and able to mediate change (“Rhetorical” 221). In other words, they must demonstrate a willingness to consider the argument and be in a position to implement the changes advocated to respond to the exigence or problem. At times, a writer “might need to awaken his or her listeners or readers to their capability to act as agents of change” (Jasinski 515). Readers may not realize either that they are able to make the final decision, or that they can influence those who have final decision-making authority. This is particularly applicable to editorials, which often, implicitly or explicitly, include a call-to-action. This directive to readers provides instructions on how or when they should proceed to remedy the problem that has prompted the editorial. However, in the samples studied, the actions suggested may not result in a final resolution of the problem; they may constitute an interim step to that solution. The voters/readers cannot solve the problems facing the nation, but they can cast a ballot for a candidate or party who is “best positioned” or deemed most capable of effecting change. Editorials may also be addressed to multiple audiences. This “composite” audience may incorporate differences in character, loyalties, and functions, thus requiring different appeals and argumentative strategies (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 21). Writers may strive to align incompatible arguments by using dissociation or by demonstrating that the argument is limited in scope or application, or some other means that will render it acceptable to the various segments of the audience. In some cases, the writer may convey a message to an indirect audience while ostensibly addressing a clearly defined one. Editorials addressed to readers may position them in specific roles (for example, those of taxpayers or voters), or as generally supporting or opposing a particular stance, but writers often assume that editorials will also be read by political candidates and government members. “In certain cases, the actual audience is less important than the indirect audience to whom a speaker or writer appeals” (Jasinski 69). In other cases, editorials can be considered discussions among the economic and power elites with the public as spectator (Henry and Tator 93). These seemingly peripheral audiences may constitute the most significant audience, or the one with the greatest opportunity to take action.

The editorial, as a text within a mass medium publication, has a physical audience comprised at least minimally of those who buy and read the newspaper. Although circulation and

advertising departments have a working conception of this reader, this may or may not correspond to the audience the editorial writers envision as they plan and execute their texts. Ede and Lunsford note that writers play an essential role throughout the composition process, not only as creators, but as readers of their own writing (158). This is textually evident when an editorial uses the pronoun “we,” not to refer to the newspaper and its writers, but to project a sense of commonality or a joining with readers as fellow citizens. This conception of readers, along with the editorial’s efforts to move them to accept new viewpoints, forms the heart of an editorial’s work. Writers create a vision that they hope readers will come to share as they read the text; writers accomplish this by using the resources of language available to them to establish a broad, and ideally coherent, range of cues for the reader (Ede and Lunsford 167). If the editorial succeeds, the readers envisioned at the beginning of an editorial may have changed their opinion by the end of the text, to some degree. Editorials frequently use various voices or perspectives when presenting an argument. The third-person voice is traditionally used, establishing ethos by invoking the formal and measured tones associated with essays and reports. An editorial can also utilize the first-person perspective, but this is often a plural voice that uses the pronoun “we” to reflect its status as the opinion of the newspaper and/or its editorial board. In addition to the newspaper/editorial, the first-person plural voice can also include specific groups within society. The third-person voice, similar to its use in a fictional narrative, implies a comprehensive point of view; it enhances the newspaper’s ethos by suggesting the editorial has knowledge and a broad perspective regarding the issue at hand and can therefore provide insightful synthesis and analysis. However, the first-person plural voice allows the editorial to construct common presumptions or values with readers. Establishing this sense of consubstantiality or identification (Burke, *Rhetoric* 55) instigates pathetic and ethical appeals, connecting readers to writers and drawing readers into the argumentative process, thereby strengthening the editorial’s persuasiveness.

As outlined above, a text’s intended audience is one of the main considerations for writers when they determine the beliefs and values their readers are likely to hold. The choice is between a concrete specific audience (i.e. the audience addressed) and the audience constructed or invoked by the writer (Ede and Lunsford; Park). I contend that both of these concepts are

relevant to the following discussion: editorials are addressed to the newspapers' readers, a physically defined group, but, at the same time, editorial writers must invoke common beliefs and values assumed to be shared with readers, and create a role for readers in which readers themselves strengthen the opinions the editorial espouses and, hopefully, adopt them.

In the following section, I examine the editorials specifically to determine how they position themselves in relation to their readers, and how the concepts of audience addressed and audience invoked affect their work.

4.2 Case Studies: Who is “we”?

The authorial function in an editorial differs from that in other forms of media texts, or, indeed, in many written works. As the voice of the newspaper, the editorial is written from an institutional perspective. However, as noted in the preceding chapters, persuasion results from the ability of a writer to create elements of commonality with readers and/or to create a sense of identification (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20-23) between writer and reader. The following section examines how the editorials in the sample set construct their positions in relation to their readers. In particular, I trace the usage of the pronoun “we” to determine who or what it represents and whether that entity remains consistent throughout the text. My examination shows that the endorsement editorials establish a distinct role for themselves as observers and commentators, addressing and advising readers in their role as voters. However, at times, the editorials choose to align with readers/voters. I examine the sample endorsement editorials to identify the groups addressed and whether these constitute the audience addressed or the audience invoked, and the groups the editorial includes in its usage of the pronoun “we.”

I begin with a case study of the *Globe and Mail* editorial, which presents itself as a concerned observer, but does occasionally unite with its readers for persuasive effect.

4.2.1 *Globe and Mail*

Globe Guides Reader Deliberations

In its editorial, the *Globe and Mail* positions itself as a concerned Canadian citizen, one who possesses sufficient insight and knowledge to help guide fellow citizens and readers in their election decisions. From the outset, the *Globe* aligns itself with readers by using the first-person plural pronoun, “we”: “We are nearing the end of an unremarkable and disappointing election campaign ...” [G.1]. The *Globe* repeats the inclusive “we” in these opening, contextual paragraphs to describe its assessment of the disappointing campaign. Within these first three sentences, the “we” implicitly includes the editorial with fellow citizens and voters, but the *Globe* also separates itself from the Canadian electorate in the intervening sentence, as it observes that “Canadians deserved better” [G.2]. The alignment with Canadians and the electorate is reinforced by subsequent references to “our” next federal government and “our” democracy [G.4], emphasizing the sense of identification of the two on the basis of shared values (Burke, *Rhetoric* 55). The editorial then again distances itself from this group by referring to “all Canadians” [G.8] rather than to “us.” This ethical move begins to position the paper as an informed observer. This separation of voter and newspaper is evident in the phrasing of the thesis: “Whom should Canadians turn to?” [G.10]. The use of the term “Canadians” rather than “we” ensures that the question, the crux of the editorial’s argument, is framed in a manner that considers the “universal audience” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 31). By removing itself from that audience at this point, the editorial eliminates any hint of self-interest implied by the use of “we.”

Subsequent references maintain this distance: The Conservatives can provide what “this country needs” [G.16]; “Canadians” take Harper’s stewardship for granted [G.18]. Yet, the editorial sees different sectors within this amorphous group of “Canadians.” Jack Layton can connect with “ordinary people” [G.13], but the implication is that the *Globe* and its readers do not belong to that group. The editorial places this seemingly laudatory comment within a section of refutation that disqualifies Layton as a potential leader. This contextual location causes readers to identify more closely with the *Globe* by distinguishing themselves from the “other” group of “ordinary people” (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20). If readers do not wish to identify themselves as

“ordinary people,” the implicit suggestion is that they will not be impressed by these qualities, and therefore will not support Layton.

The editorial assumes its role of informed observer and commentator using a relatively simple contraction. As the editorial begins the first section of support for the Conservatives, it notes, “let’s call it what it is” [G.16]. With the phrasing, “let us” call it what it is, the editorial carves out an identity that differs from the “we” of the opening paragraphs. The editorial implies that readers may lack sufficient inside knowledge – or the appropriate forum – to pass this type of judgment on the ruling leader and party. The editorial solidifies this separation with the comment that “Canadians” (not we) take Harper’s stewardship for granted [G.18]. Both of these comments serve to enhance the ethos of the editorial as a source of reliable information and analysis that is offered to those readers who retain some degree of consubstantiality (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20) with the paper. The editorial further subdivides the electorate with its appeal to persuade “those who disdain the Harper approach” [G.23]. This group is more restricted than those who simply dislike Harper. The phrasing implies that this is a group of people who may agree with the results, but who do not support the methods (“the approach”) used to achieve those ends. The ensuing argument provides reasons why these seemingly valid concerns about tactics are more than offset by the overall record. However, the editorial then implicitly includes a third party in the discussion, one whose attention the editorial deems important. Although framed in the third person, the editorial’s subsequent remarks are indirectly addressed to the Conservatives. The editorial not only revisits health care, one of the critical issues raised at the beginning, and suggests a solution that only government can enact: greater experimentation in private delivery and change [G.32]. With this reference, the editorial puts its proposal on the record to ensure that readers are aware of it, even as it makes the suggestion public so Harper and the Conservatives are cognizant of the *Globe’s* stance regarding the importance of health care and can thus be held accountable later for responding to it.

But as the editorial approaches its kairotic moment, the newspaper resumes its alliance with readers and thereby provides momentum as the editorial moves towards the concluding endorsement. The campaign is behind “us” [G.34] as Canadians and voters. The editorial asks readers to step back to imagine the effects this will have for Canada because it will “help propel

Canada into a fresh period of innovation, government reform and global ambition” [G.35]. Invoking this sense of shared values generated by a shared vision creates a strong emotional connection with readers as the editorial then presents its endorsement as an unassailable fact: “Stephen Harper and the Conservatives are best positioned to guide Canada there” [G.36]. Readers are emotionally prepared to accept this viewpoint. Although the editorial has used “us” and “we” to align itself with readers, in this final sentence it reprises its role as a knowledgeable observer presenting a conclusion. By employing the third person, the endorsement carries more objectively persuasive power than limiting it to the more personal “we believe” or “our opinion is ...” that relies on the establishment of ethos.

The editorial has formulated its position in light of the discussion’s development, taken objections into account, and come forward with a proposition that is very likely to win acceptance (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 499). The editorial poses a question in its thesis for readers to consider, guides them through its deliberations and, in the final statement, presents the solution. The editorial does not, however, proceed to the next persuasive step of issuing a call-to-action. Readers are accorded a measure of respect that they, as intelligent readers, will know what to do without specific instructions. The implicit alliance with readers creates respect and credibility for the editorial, which is able to offer its wisdom that readers are agreeable to accepting. The editorial ostensibly addresses all readers, but it invokes a role for those who do not consider themselves “ordinary” or who “disdain” the Harper approach. This group of readers is offered the opportunity to join with the editorial to support Harper and the Conservatives (Ede and Lunsford; Burke, *Rhetoric* 20). The *Globe* editorial selectively aligns itself with readers as Canadians and voters, but then withdraws in order to provide insightful overviews and commentary and to criticize the government. Readers are demarcated into different groups: those who disdain the Harper approach and the “ordinary people.” By this process, the editorial positions readers to align with the editorial, thus making them receptive to the final endorsement that is presented as an unquestionable conclusion.

Although the *Globe* maintains an observer role, it also strategically aligns itself with the interests of readers to create a persuasive argument. The *Post*, however, foregrounds its presence

as both a newspaper and as a citizen of Canada, and presents itself as both “we” the newspaper, and “we” the citizens of Canada.

4.2.2 *National Post*

“We” the *Post* and “We” as Canadians

The *National Post* varies its position in relation to its readers, employing a flexible conception of “we” that shifts throughout the editorial. The *Post* addresses two audiences; although its message is directed primarily to readers, it assumes that the Tories are listening in on the conversation (Henry and Tator 95), and then explicitly addresses the Tories in its conclusion. The *Post* aligns itself with readers in several instances but also foregrounds its presence through inter-textual references and the use of the editorial “we.”

In this editorial, “we” represents two different instantiations: we (or our) as the editorial/newspaper, is used eight times, while the “we” (or our) referring to Canadians or Canada, is used eleven times. In several references, the newspaper includes itself with Canadians as a nation: “We have contributed effectively” ... and stood with “our allies” [P.9]. Other references associate the editorial with Canadians as citizens: changes have been made to “our” immigration policy [P.13] and there are values that “we” expect of new immigrants [P.14]. However, the editorial relies on the institutional inception of “we” to explicitly establish its ethos by quoting from an editorial “we wrote” [P.1] prior to the previous election. This particular use of “we” establishes the editorial and newspaper as a knowledgeable player in the political arena. When the issue of a possible coalition is raised, the editorial notes that “we believe Michael Ignatieff ...” [P.21], breaking its alliance with readers to provide a judgment. The editorial utilizes this rhetorical distancing to enhance its ethos, presenting this assertion as a fact that it implies should also be accepted by readers. The editorial also foregrounds its presence through the multiple endorsements that it provides in answer to the thesis question: “who can steer Canada forward” [P.6]. The *Post* does not align itself with readers or Canadians in this thesis by employing “us” instead of Canada, a strategy that identifies the question as important for all Canadians. Canada is personified as an entity with a future that needs direction; the editorial

suggests that readers are positioned to assess the question on the basis of what is best for all Canadians, not on the basis of self-interest. All but one of the endorsements uses the editorial “we,” referring to the *Post* and its institutionally-sanctioned viewpoints. This first-person plural perspective relies heavily on the ethos developed by the *Post*: the Tories are “our clear choice” [P.7] and “we hope” [P.40] the Tories win a majority. The ethical appeal strengthens the endorsement by drawing on the credibility of the *Post* as a respected and knowledgeable national newspaper. But one endorsement also draws on a vaguer sense of “we” as representing the parliamentary system: “The only way we can guarantee stability is if the Tories win at least 155 seats” [P.29]. In this statement, the *Post*, as a newspaper, provides its opinion that stability can only be achieved with a Tory majority, but, in reality, such a majority is not within the *Post*’s power to deliver. Although the phrase is technically inaccurate, this use of “we” lends the force of the paper’s ethos to the endorsement.

As the editorial nears its conclusion, it begins to candidly advise the Tories regarding what they should do if and/or when they win a new mandate. This shift in the audience addressed (Ede and Lunsford 155) positions the editorial closer to the readers, resuming the earlier alliance. Although framed in the third person, the editorial implies that it is voicing the interests of voters, thus engaging readers and creating an emotional connection that will encourage acceptance of the endorsements and the call-to-action. The editorial suggests that “if the Tories win a majority, as we hope they do – we also hope that they push forward on projects ...” [P.40]. The *Post* temporarily steps back into its editorial persona for this endorsement to draw on the ethos it has established. Linking this final endorsement to the request for change demonstrates that the endorsement is both thoughtful and based on sound judgment. The phrasing, “as we hope they do,” does not presume an outcome to avoid offending uncommitted voters. This sentence sets out a legislative agenda that the *Post* considers important for Canada, a position that it assumes its readers share. The editorial then addresses the government even more directly: “We also urge the next government to ...” [P.41]. These concluding comments admonish the Tories about what the *Post* considers important, thereby enhancing its ethos by creating a sense of identification that will persuade its readers (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20–23). Building ethos in this manner is an important strategy to prepare readers to accept the final endorsement. Although previous endorsements

employed either third- or first-person voice, this final endorsement is very clearly the newspaper speaking directly to its readers. The *Post* explicitly aligns its interests: "... which is why we urge our readers to vote Conservative on May 2" [P.44]. Although this phrasing separates the newspaper from its readers, it simultaneously invokes "our readers" as a special group that readers can identify with and want to belong to (Ede and Lunsford; Burke, *Rhetoric* 20-23). Using the first-person plural draws on a connection between the *Post* and its readers and creates a pathetic appeal. The final call-to-action gains persuasive power from this combination of pathetic and ethical appeals. This division of audience and editorial is appropriate for a call-to-action. In an endorsement, the focus is on the editorial and its opinion, whereas in a call-to-action, the focus shifts to readers who are directed and encouraged to take some form of action.

The editorial addresses some of its comments specifically to the Tories, but primarily focuses on addressing its readers, whether as the voice of the newspaper or by aligning with them. This particular audience is capable of being moved. Since they are reading the newspaper, readers recognize themselves in the call-to-action (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20-23). At the same time, the editorial creates a select group of people, "our readers," who exhibit special knowledge and are linked with the *Post* because they share the same viewpoints and values (Burke, *Rhetoric* 21). This shared sense of values and beliefs enhances both the pathetic and ethical appeals, and, in conjunction with the extensive logical appeals based on stated reasons, creates a comprehensive and persuasive argument. The *Post* employs a flexible and varied definition of "we" to refer to Canada as a country, Canadians in general, and to its institutional opinion.

Although the *National Post* explicitly addresses its readers, and, at times, aligns itself with them, the *Toronto Star* employs a more distanced approach as it appeals to its readers to turn their backs on the Tories and the Liberals and embrace a different party.

4.2.3 *Toronto Star*

Editorials Create Groups of *Star* Readers

The *Toronto Star*, in the first of two editorials, maintains a predominately third-person perspective. However, it diverges from this pattern when it criticizes Tory spending and aligns with readers: “support for the military has morphed into a blank cheque for fancy fighter jets that we don’t need” [ST1.26]. This solitary usage of the pronoun “we,” which includes the *Star* and all Canadians, draws attention to the criticism by emphasizing that taxpayers do not need the jets, figuratively or literally. By merging itself with readers, the editorial establishes a shared value – disapproval of wasteful spending – which helps readers identify with the *Star* (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20–24) and thereby feel more receptive to the viewpoints espoused. The *Star* employs minimal usage of other forms such as “us” (1) and “our” (2) to link with readers.

The *Star* defines and invokes various groups within its readership (Ede and Lunsford 156). The editorial first identifies “Canadians [who] have now had more than five years to see the Harper Conservatives in action” [ST1.5]. Within this broad group, the *Star* outlines two sub-groups of readers. One group is described as “some of those inclined to support him and his Conservatives [and who] were seduced by the hope he would grow in office” [ST1.1]. The *Star* points out that this group was not only “seduced,” but shows the members were also later deceived. The negative portrayal of this group of Harper supporters creates another group of readers who do not want to be “one of those” who were seduced and deceived; readers are positioned to prefer to align themselves with the *Star* and its viewpoints (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20). Later, the editorial addresses voters in general, who are “rightly relieved that Canada escaped the worst of the global recession” [ST1.29]. The next claim advises these “relieved” readers: “They should keep in mind that the record is much more mixed” [ST1.30]. By first praising this group’s economic acumen, the *Star* creates an emotional connection that it can subsequently leverage to gain the group’s adherence to its contention that the Conservatives are taking credit for the work of previous governments. The *Star* subtly maneuvers readers to its side by distinguishing these “other groups” who have been disappointed and deceived by the Tories (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20). Rather than using the first-person voice in the concluding dis-endorsement, the editorial employs the third person: “they do not deserve a renewed mandate” [ST1.41]. This statement does not

explicitly invoke the *Star*'s ethos to persuade readers, but relies on the declarative form and the impartial, third-person voice to lend facticity and credibility to its dis-endorsement. This approach implies that the facts speak for themselves, and that the *Star* does not need to involve itself personally. By employing the third-person voice in the dis-endorsement, the *Star* retains its impartial observer status rather than foregrounding its own opinion, thus building ethos for the second editorial.

The *Star* 1 editorial implicitly manoeuvres readers away from groups who had, or still have, favourable opinions of the Tories, thus forcing readers to align with its distrust of, and disappointment with, the Tories. The dis-endorsement leaves readers to consider their disaffection for the Tories while they ponder which party the *Star* will endorse, thus building anticipation for the succeeding editorial that completes this argumentative strategy.

The second *Star* editorial focuses on “voters” in a general sense, primarily employing a third-person voice to enhance the credibility of its campaign for a radical shift in support. The *Star* invokes readers with an initial meta-discursive move referring to the previous editorial, thus separating out a group of readers who have special knowledge (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20). The statement, “as we said on Friday” [ST2.3], allows the editorial to revive the ethos created in the previous day's dis-endorsement of the Conservatives. This reference is the only use of “we” and clearly refers to the *Star* as an institution and to its viewpoint. The brevity of the reference and the lack of a full summary imply that the *Star* has a loyal readership that returns each day. The two-part editorial approach relies on this continuity: the first day mentally prepares readers for the surprising viewpoint presented in this second editorial. But this inter-textual reference to the dis-endorsement editorial also aligns the newspaper with its readers, who are privy to the beliefs and values presented the previous day. Readers recognize a commonality with the *Star*, and therefore belong to the invoked select group, which enhances their emotional connection to the newspaper and to the ideas presented. The *Star*'s second editorial does not explicitly align with readers, only once employing the possessive pronoun “our” in the phrase “our country's cities” [ST2.26] to refer to the newspaper and readers as Canadians. It does, however, invoke various categories of readers (Ede and Lunsford 155) to move them toward adherence to the *Star*'s support of the NDP. Readers are encouraged to self-identify and place themselves in one or all of

these groups. The thesis defines the first group as “voters who believe that Canada can – and should – aim higher ...” [ST2.5]. These voters have an important choice to make between the Liberals who were once the only conceivable option and the alternative that the *Star* proposes. The *Star* appeals to the emotions of voters who consider themselves part of Canada’s grand vision and who appreciate the significance of the decision they face. These voters are subsequently offered the option of aligning themselves with the “progressive voters” identified in the call-to action [ST2.10]. This outreach provides a pathetic appeal to readers to feel positively about supporting the NDP, the party that can help achieve these progressive aims. The *Star*’s call-to-action again invokes these progressive voters with an extended definition: “Voters who believe Canada should aspire to something greater than the crabbed, narrow vision offered by the Harper Conservatives ...” [ST2.44]. Readers are also referred to in their role as voters: the NDP is offering “voters” an ambitious, people-centred platform” that “focuses on seniors, health care and the environment” [ST2.18, 19]; “voters who believe Canada should aspire to something greater...” [ST2.44]; and Layton “has won the trust of many voters” [ST2.25]. The editorial, by selecting examples that address issues known to concern people, encourages readers to identify with the “progressive” voters who believe Canada should aim higher. The alternative to this desired association is framed as a distinctly undesirable attachment: readers can either side with the disparaged groups of Harper supporters or be counted among those opposing motherhood issues such as helping seniors and improving health care (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20).

Another set of voters is also invoked: “voters [who] are sending a clear message that they don’t feel they owe the Liberals anything for what the party did once upon a time. Nor do they believe the party has fully purged itself of the cronyism and corruption of the past” [ST2.40, 41]. These voters share common values with the *Star*, which has also turned its back on the Liberals, despite its traditional support for the party. This group of voters is a proxy for the *Star*’s message, but the *Star* lets readers come to that conclusion on their own, rather than making it explicit by using “we.” The *Star* maintains its distance to avoid being drawn in as an active participant and eliminate the need to explicitly justify its change in support. Third-party observations present the reasons the *Star* is changing its support; these claims assume the status of fact because they are thus not presented as the *Star*’s opinion. The *Star* hides behind and

subsumes itself in its construct of “voters” who no longer feel they owe allegiance to the Liberals [ST2.40].

Although the *Star* editorials do not join the newspaper with the reader, to any extent, the appeals rest on shared values such as progress, exemplified by the desire to aim higher. The dominant values in a cultural milieu like Canada’s are embedded in the electoral process (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 78) and politicians seeking election or re-election try to determine the values or beliefs that are most important for constituents and align with them to create a sense of identification (Burke, *Rhetoric* 21). The audience envisioned by the *Star* is particular (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 31) because the editorial draws on the specific values of “charting a better future for the country” [ST2.4] and upon other, more concrete, values such as lowering taxes and balancing the budget [ST2.23, 24]. As a Toronto-based newspaper, the *Star* makes note of Layton’s Toronto background and his understanding of the “needs of our country’s cities” [ST2.26], which links the *Star* with all Canadians. The *Star*, perhaps anticipating that readers might be reluctant to move away from supporting the Liberals, presents arguments in the first editorial that induce readers to dissociate themselves from the Conservatives. The editorial then progressively moves readers into closer alignment with the *Star*’s new stance. The *Star* also addresses arguments to the universal audience, readers who are drawn from a broad cross-section of the populace. These arguments draw on widely accepted values such as the “trust” that Layton has established with voters, and the dishonest and hypocritical actions of the Tories. These universal appeals are directed at readers who do not fall into any of the groups established by the *Star*; their aim is to seek acceptance from a broad spectrum of readers. As an extended argumentation, the editorials consistently employ the third-person voice, allowing them to present information that appears to be factual, rather than judgmental. This strategy also puts an element of distance between the newspaper and negative comments about the Tories, so that the *Star* appears as an impartial, rather than a vindictive, commentator on the political situation. By refraining from providing its own explicit opinion in the first editorial, the *Star* positions readers to help develop the argument and thus become more invested in it. On the second day, the *Star* presents its argument more explicitly, although again

remaining in a commentator position, and cloaking its dissociation from the Liberals as the view of “voters” as it seeks to move readers toward the *Star*’s position of support for the NDP.

Although the *Star* presents both implicit and explicit arguments as it urges readers to support the NDP, it does not align itself with readers. Readers are instead manoeuvred into dissociating themselves from pro-Tory groups, rejecting the Liberals, and identifying themselves with the *Star*’s call to support the NDP.

Although the *Star* undertakes a nuanced argumentative task to gain reader adherence for its support of the NDP, the *Sun*, however, refrains from a subtle argumentative strategy. The *Sun* assumes that its readers share its support for the Tories, but, despite this commonality, the *Sun* never merges with its readers; rather, it adopts a role as their spokesperson and protector.

4.2.4 *Toronto Sun*

***Sun* Speaks to Readers and Stephen Harper**

The *Toronto Sun* editorial addresses a composite audience. In its editorial text, it recognizes three separate groups: Harper and the Conservatives; readers, in their role as taxpayers; and the *Sun* newspaper as it represents itself in its editorial. The editorial speaks to, or on behalf of, each of the groups in turn, yet never allows the groups to overlap or join. The newspaper may share common values with its readers, as the textual evidence shows, but it does not see them as one and the same.

The editorial chooses passive and third-person voice for its endorsement, in which it refers to itself in its corporate persona as “Sun Media.” Although “we” would provide a personal aspect to the endorsement, the editorial enhances its ethos by drawing on the national presence of the newspaper chain. The newspaper, as an institution, inserts itself in the thesis by noting that the endorsement “reflects our strong belief that Stephen Harper needs a majority” [SU.2]. These comments, as with much of the editorial, are addressed to readers, but it is expected that Harper and the Conservatives, and indeed all politicians, will also listen. Some of the warnings and threats are clearly directed at the Tories. The comments, “They had better deliver” and “This has

to end,” are statements with which readers may agree, but they also embody a specific warning to the Tories, the object of the criticism. These types of orders or threats establish the editorial’s ethos by showing that the newspaper is not afraid to criticize the government. Both of these cryptic statements carry an implied warning to the government that “[You] had better deliver [fulfill your promises] – or else ...” However, the use of the third-person voice renders the threat less confrontation while still effectively conveying the message. Although the implied threat is not detailed until close to the end of the editorial, it remains in readers’ minds throughout the argumentation.

In its context-setting paragraph (SU.6), the Sun Media group focuses attention on itself as an entity: “From the day we took our first breath, what has become the largest newspaper chain in Canada has always stood for the advancement of small-c conservatism, and our demand for transparency in a smaller but efficient government has never wavered” [SU.6]. The pronoun, “we,” focuses on the *Toronto Sun*, the original member of the chain and one of the newspapers in which this editorial appears.¹⁰ The editorial is laying claim to an originating role and to a long history of conservative support, thus enhancing its ethos. Furthermore, “what has become the largest newspaper chain in Canada” [SU.6] also emphasizes Sun Media’s size and importance.¹¹ This emphasis on the *Sun*’s intellectual history foregrounds its unwavering stance and positions it at the centre of the argument, rather than as an impartial commentator. These values – small-c conservatism, small but efficient government, and transparency – are assumed to be shared by readers [SU.2] and are used as the standard against which to measure Conservative performance. This ethos-building paragraph allows the editorial to establish its position as the readers’ champion, a position that it will develop throughout the editorial. The editorial again uses “we” to present its assessment of the political scene if Harper does not receive a majority. This “we” represents the chain and its editorial; this “we” does not include readers who are unlikely to describe the public service as “oversated” or the deficit as “reaching unaffordable heights”

¹⁰ For clarity, throughout this dissertation, I have referred to the *Sun* editorial in its publication within the pages of the *Toronto Sun*. However, when pertinent to the argument, I note the significance of the chain authorship.

¹¹ The *Sun* chain consists of four other newspapers which replicate the *Toronto Sun* formula in Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Ottawa.

[SU.11]. These are the *Sun*'s descriptions, derived from its passionate participation in the political arena.

The *Sun*'s concluding refutation maintains the distinction between the three groups. Instead of addressing readers, who are also presumably taxpayers, as "you," the editorial uses the third- person voice, as if these positions do not overlap: "it's the taxpayers who foot every bill" [SU.19]. "You" could imply a confrontational tone by addressing readers too directly. Similarly, using "we" includes the writers of the editorial and the newspaper as a corporation, which could weaken the argument by implying that the editorial speaks from a position of self-interest. The third-person syntax presents the information as fact and allows the editorial's claim to share in this credibility: "and Harper must respect this undeniable fact unequivocally" [SU.19]. These statements of "fact" are ostensibly addressed to the readers, but they are also directed to Harper and the Tories. The editorial continues to warn Harper, but it now involves the *Sun* by using the first-person: "Otherwise, we will go for his political throat like no dog on a bone ever seen" [SU.20]. This sentence portrays the threat as an accepted fact, rather than a direct attack on Harper. An alternate framing such as "we will go for your throat" would imply a physical threat, whereas the *Sun*'s threat, as written and intended, is metaphoric. The framing assures readers that the *Sun* takes personal responsibility for enforcing the views it has presented, even as it ensures that the warning is directed to the intended party, Harper. This statement not only increases the ethos of the *Sun*, it appeals to the readers' emotions, particularly anger, to create a personal connection that is intended to move them to agree with the sentiments expressed. Although the *Sun* has not joined with readers, it has created a sense of identification that aids persuasion (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20-23).

In the final two sentences, the editorial turns away from readers and addresses Harper directly. While this could distance the reader from the editorial, its primary effect is to augment the editorial's ethos as an involved observer in the political sphere. The editorial places itself on the sidelines, acting as referee to ensure that the rules of engagement between government and taxpayer are observed. The newspaper says, in effect, "You, reader, are the taxpayer, footing the bill. You, Stephen Harper, are the employee. We, the *Sun* newspaper chain, are the champions of the people, protecting their rights and privileges." In this way, the *Sun* sets itself up as the referee

or enforcer in the game of politics. By emphasizing its ethos, the *Sun* gains reader confidence and trust. The emotionally charged argument, created in part by colourful adjectives and figures of speech, moves readers to anger and indignation at the Tories. However, the *Sun* moderates these effects so readers can be persuaded to vote Conservative by establishing itself as the protector of their rights. The editorial, in this final exchange, suggests to readers that the Conservatives, although not perfect, are the best option available. The *Sun* pledges to monitor the future Tory government to ensure improvements are forthcoming. This final exchange clarifies the concept of a divided audience. Readers usually assume that editorials are written primarily for them, but many are also directed at the people in power who can actually effect the suggested changes (Bitzer, "Rhetorical" 221). This audience may, in reality, be the more important one since it has the direct means to remedy the exigence that prompted the editorial.

The readers invoked in this editorial are those who share the values outlined in the *Sun*'s mission statement: small-c conservatism, fiscal prudence, reliance on the individual, and a solid work ethic (Ede and Lunsford 155). However, although readers identify (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20) with the *Sun*, which increases their willingness to accept its viewpoints, the *Sun* does not textually join itself with readers by using "we." This reluctance to merge, despite their shared values and viewpoints, suggests that the *Sun* works on an assumption that readers do not closely follow politics. The *Sun* assumes its self-appointed role as advisor and protector, but also as the watchful referee who will take the government to task if it betrays the values shared by the *Sun* and its readers.

Discussion

Each newspaper strategically positions itself in relation to its readers. The *Globe* and the *Post* at times align with their readers by use of the editorial "we," a construct that can refer to the readers and newspapers as citizens or to Canada as a nation. At other times, the *Post* speaks on its own behalf, voicing the institutional opinion of the newspapers. The *Post* employs this editorial "we" positioning for several of its endorsements and its call-to-action. The *Toronto Star*, in its two-part editorial, speaks almost exclusively from a third-person perspective, only rarely aligning with the reader. The *Star* rhetorically creates groups aligning with its stance and

uses readers' desires to identify with, or dissociate from, these groups as the basis of its appeals. The *Sun*, speaking on its own behalf from a clearly expressed value system, never joins with readers, despite its self-appointed role as an intercessor working on their behalf against government. Each editorial textually projects an identity onto its readers, but the audience invoked may or may not correspond to the audience addressed, the so-called physical audience (Ede and Lunsford 156). I now briefly compare the audience newspapers identify as their readers with the audience the editorials invoke. Within their texts, editorials reach out to readers who will respond to the examples, descriptions, and arguments presented. However, each newspaper also has an audience that is comprised of the people who purchase and/or read the paper. As businesses, newspapers must generate income to pay for their operating expenses. Daily newspaper revenues come from three principal sources: circulation, advertising, and online initiatives (Newspapers Canada). Subscriptions and box sales account for only a small portion of the cost of gathering and publishing news content. Newspapers rely on advertising income from businesses who want to reach the acknowledged readers of a publication. In a very real sense, newspapers sell their readers to advertisers. To further that end, demographic reader profiles are assembled for newspapers for the purpose of attracting advertisers; these profiles provide some insight into readers' values and lifestyles.¹²

The *Globe and Mail*, headquartered in Toronto but with a national circulation, reports that 56 percent of its readers are male, and approximately 83 percent of all readers fall within the 35-plus age bracket. Almost 90 percent have obtained a university or post-graduate degree. Management, professional, and white collar workers comprise the predominant employment sectors, while the average household income is \$100,000. Almost 85 percent of readers own their home. The overall demographic of the *Globe* reader is an upper middle-class, middle-aged or older, well-educated, business or professional person. The *Globe's* editorial invokes readers who are politically and economically aware, and who have the knowledge and background to understand, and care about, the more philosophical issues involved with protecting "Parliament,

¹² Information is assembled from the websites of individual newspapers. Because each newspaper presents the information in its own manner, statistics may not be comparable. All statistics are based on the 2010 Newspaper Audience Databank Inc. (NADbank) survey that designs and conducts research in Canadian markets for its member newspapers.

the heart of our democracy” [G.5]. They are presumably well educated, as evidenced by the editorial’s use of the proper term, prorogation. Favourable references to the extension of the GST/HST, a national securities regulator, trade negotiations, and international investment suggest that readers have significant business or financial interests. The extensive discussion of the burgeoning cost of health care and the proposal for private options implies readers with sufficient financial resources to afford additional costs. It could also suggest readers in the middle to older age bracket, as opposed to younger people who might be more concerned about health care’s future availability and cost. In many aspects, this audience invoked is comparable to the *Globe*’s identified readers.

The *National Post*, also based in Toronto, has less than national reach, as the result of cutbacks in distribution in eastern and western Canada. The *Post* reports that 60 percent of its readers are men; almost 60 percent of them fall within the 35- to 64-year-old bracket, with another 25 percent in the 65-plus group. More than 85 percent have university or other post-secondary education. The majority of readers (80 percent) own their home; many are self-employed, operate a home business, or are employed as senior managers and professionals. The average household income is \$95,000. The profile of the *Post* reader addressed is thus similar to that of the *Globe*: male, at least middle-aged, well-educated, financially stable, and working in business or a professional category, a set that could also include government. The *National Post* invokes an audience well versed in political and economic affairs. The extensive discussion of economics and foreign affairs, with references to, but not explanations of, legislative acts, programs, and previous political issues implies readers who are knowledgeable and able to draw conclusions about the significance of the examples presented. The concern with foreign affairs also suggests readers with the financial means to travel, or those who are at least interested in global issues. Some of the editorial’s references imply readers who are middle-aged or older, with background knowledge of the governments of Chrétien and Martin that date back to the 1990s, and even to the Trudeau era of the 1970s and 1980s. The issues addressed also coincide with interests expected of readers of that age group – economic growth, political stability, and improved health care. The use of the honorific address that is also employed by the *Globe* – Mr. Harper – indicates a respectful form of address expected in business and professional circles.

These specific references and linguistic usages reach out to or invoke (Ede and Lunsford 156) readers who are urbane, politically astute, business-oriented, financially secure men. The readers invoked are, as with the *Globe*'s constructed readers, similar to those addressed. The readers of both newspapers are also similar, both in reported demographics and in their respective editorial constructions.

Toronto Star readers, however, present a slightly different profile. The *Star*, published in Toronto, is distributed widely throughout southern Ontario. Its readership is split equally between women and men, about 81 percent of whom are over the age of 35. Approximately 75 percent have university or post-secondary education. Managerial, professional, and other white collar workers comprise more than half the *Star* readership. More than 50 percent of readers have a household income greater than \$75,000 while 84 percent own a home. The *Star*'s readers, based on these demographic statistics, are middle-class, employed people, generally middle-aged, who work in middle management. *Star* readers are invoked as citizens who are concerned about taxes, the deficit that will impact their lifestyles now and in the future, and health care. These readers support democracy, but in tangible ways such as limiting the power of the Bloc Québécois that could give Quebec unfair advantages at the expense of other provinces. Through its examples, the editorial reaches out specifically to small business owners, Torontonians, and the fiscally prudent – people who are working and trying to make ends meet. The editorial implies that the NDP plan for health care is a great improvement and does not propose a private, paid system, which suggests the paper considers this not affordable or acceptable to its readers. Although foreign policy is used to discount the Tories, it is not one of the measures used to support the NDP, implying that readers are more concerned about everyday issues than they are about Canada's global presence. Similarly, refraining from using their use of prorogation to criticize the Tories suggests that this parliamentary process and its implications for the concept of democracy may not be relevant to *Star* readers. The two conceptions of the *Star*'s audience, addressed and invoked, are compatible, defining an audience that is slightly less financially secure and educated than the readership of the *Post* and *Globe*.

The *Toronto Sun*, however, targets a significantly different audience. Predominately focused on Toronto issues, the *Sun* is also widely distributed throughout southern Ontario. The

newspaper reports that almost two-thirds of its readers rely exclusively on the *Sun* for their news. *Sun* readers fall mainly within the 18-49 age group (about 60 percent). The majority of readers are also employed (more than 65 percent) with an average household income of \$80,000. About one-third of readers are classed as management or professional with 25 percent as “other white collar” and about 38 percent as blue collar. Although the information presented by the *Sun* is far less detailed than that of the other newspapers, it does depict young, working people who are loyal readers. In its editorial, the *Sun* invokes working-class readers, as evidenced by the examples and how they are framed. The editorial does not rely on abstract concepts such as democracy; instead, it features everyday needs such as “home heating, electricity and gas prices” [SU.17] that concern readers who struggle to stretch their pay cheque to cover such essentials. Democracy, global affairs, proroguing Parliament, or the GDP, although deemed relevant to readers by the *Globe* and *Post*, are far removed from *Sun* reader’s areas of interest. The “bloated” civil service is quantified as “one in seven eligible voters,” a ratio that most readers can visualize and assess as far too high. Based on the preceding information, the two aspects of the *Sun*’s readership, audience addressed and audience invoked, are comparable.

Although the variation in reported statistics makes it difficult to precisely compare readership demographics, some generalizations can be drawn. *Globe* and *Post* readers are similar: males, aged 35 years or older, university educated, homeowners, having average household incomes of \$95,000 to \$100,000. The readers of the *Toronto Star*, by comparison, are more evenly divided between men and women, represent a similar age group, and are homeowners but with lower average household incomes and slightly less responsible positions than readers of the *Globe* or the *Post*. Overall, *Sun* readers are younger, with an average household income of about \$80,000, which is lower than that of readers of the other three newspapers. These findings tend to support general assessments that the *Globe* and *Post* are voices of business and professional classes, while the *Star*’s audience could be described as middle-class, middle-management working people. *Sun* readers can be described as loyal, given their reliance on the *Sun*, but they are also more likely to be drawn from the ranks of the working class.

As noted in chapter 2, these endorsement editorials respond to a perceived exigence in the spring of 2011. Exigence describes a social, political, economic, or ethical imperfection that demands urgent action and can only, or at least mainly, be corrected through the use of discourse. This discourse designed to correct a pressing problem must be addressed to the appropriate audience, people who are “capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change” (Bitzer, “Rhetorical” 221). In other words, audience is a key component, not only for the success of rhetorical discourse, but to ensure that the exigence is addressed and corrected. In early 2011, Canadians were faced with a federal election campaign brought on precipitously by the defeat of the sitting minority Conservative government. Newspapers can, and do, report in their news pages on events, debates, and speeches as part of their election coverage. But they also have access to textual forms such as the editorial that may allow them to respond to a perceived exigence and to more actively participate in the discourse in order to stimulate audience adherence and action.

I briefly review Canada’s political, economic, and cultural context in the early months of 2011 to lay the groundwork for a subsequent examination of the values and beliefs conveyed in each editorial.

4.3 Canada 2011

Uncertain Economic Times Foster Desire for Political Stability

In the spring of 2011, Canadians expressed an overwhelming desire for economic and political stability, the result of the global financial crisis and seven years of minority governments. Canada had emerged relatively unscathed from the 2008 economic crisis precipitated by mortgage defaults and derivative swaps that brought down major financial institutions in the United States and then spread to countries worldwide. Although Canada’s economy remained relatively strong, the American and European recoveries were stagnant in early 2011, posing the threat that they might fall back into recession. With the global interconnectedness of economies, Canadians were concerned that they too might be swept up in

the economic fallout. They also faced their fourth election in seven years, primarily because of the indecisive nature of preceding elections that returned consecutive minority governments. Canadians were sent to the polls yet again when the Conservative minority was toppled on a procedural issue in March. During the ensuing campaign, the Conservatives argued that they were best positioned to manage the country's finances in an era of fragile economic recovery. But Harper also insisted on the need for a majority government in order to follow through on the Conservative "low-tax agenda" and to prevent the possibility of a "fifth election in no time at all" (Campion-Smith and MacCharles). Harper's consistent request for a "strong, stable, national majority Conservative government" (Chase "Majority") answered, based on the eventual outcome, the desire of voters for stability in a time of uncertainty on numerous fronts.

A text is a product of the context in which it is written; editorials, with a long tradition of providing community leadership and helping readers identify important issues and consider them in new ways (Russell 83), respond to contexts such as those outlined above and to a perceived exigence. Newspapers consider it a "democratic responsibility to foster public debate on matters of importance to citizens" (English "Why?"). An election campaign during a time of economic and political uncertainty prompted many Canadian newspapers to not only comment on the election, but to provide specific direction to their readers in the form of endorsements and calls-to-action, as exemplified by the sample texts under review. The subsequent section examines the shared values that implicitly or explicitly inform the opinions presented to readers in the sample texts.

4.4 Editorials Incorporate Shared Values

An editorial relies on shared values, beliefs, and assumptions as part of its argumentative strategies (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca; Toulmin; Burke). These beliefs and values are incorporated into the text in the choice of examples, the use of adjectives and figurative language, and the praise or criticism attached to actions and individuals. Close readings of texts such as editorials uncover aspects of this world view or the underlying beliefs and assumptions that guide the newspaper as an institution. This world view reflects the context in which the newspaper publishes, but at the same time, it helps to reinforce and legitimize the newspaper's

version of reality that is then promulgated to readers. Burke notes that readers who recognize shared values or who are otherwise able to identify with editorials are more receptive to the viewpoints espoused, thus increasing the editorial's persuasiveness (*Rhetoric* 20–23). I now examine the sample endorsement editorials to consider the values and beliefs that are integrated textually.

A belief in the values of democracy and progress is evident in each of the sample editorials, although they may differ on the best means of achieving these goals. None of the newspapers advocates for massive change in democratic institutions as they exist, but they do suggest improvements to ensure that Canadian democracy functions effectively and efficiently. Each of the newspaper editorials exhibits an overarching concern to ensure stability in government and in the economy, presuming that a stable political system is an essential step in the process of ensuring better lives for Canadians. Global political and economic uncertainty figures heavily in this desire for stability on the domestic front. Readers are generally assumed to be citizens who want to see Canada grow as a nation and who are concerned with both current and future situations. By characterizing these readers as people who recognize the value of participating in a democracy, the editorials invoke readers as people who recognize the perceived problems and who, as voters, are in a position to be able to take action to help modify the concerns (Bitzer, "Rhetorical" 221). At the same time, the editorials also address a more universal audience of readers who may have differing levels of adherence to the views espoused or how to achieve the desired end.

In the endorsement editorials in this sample set, the *Globe* and the *Post* focus on the question of leadership. Both suggest that the leader directly and significantly influences the type of government that ensues. As these two newspapers argue the need for strong leadership to move the country forward, they define the leadership traits needed to achieve their vision of Canada, a vision they assume is shared by their readers. For the *Globe* and the *Post*, the traits and values of a leader epitomize the values of readers and of Canadian society generally. The *Star*, by contrast, presents a view of government that is not predicated on the importance of the leader; it envisions government as an enduring institution that continues to function despite changes in leaders and parties. This view allows the *Star* to advocate a radical shift in the ruling party

without jeopardizing its plea for stability and progress. The *Toronto Sun* presents a class-based perspective that reifies the role of the citizen and positions government, in particular the prime minister, as the voters' servant. Although many aspects could be considered in an attempt to unearth the values and beliefs of a newspaper, this analysis of the five sample editorials considers the issues they give presence to, the manner in which they present them, and the language and/or figurations employed. A newspaper's conception of government and its appropriate role in the lives of citizens influences, or is reflective of, its inherent values and political positioning. The analysis focuses on how an editorial, as the voice of a newspaper, conceives of government as an institution, a fruitful and appropriate lens with which to work, given that endorsement editorials provide commentary and advice about an impending election and the possible means of rectifying the political and social exigences that prompted the editorial.

The following section illustrates that a newspaper's conception of government is an important consideration in ascertaining the suitability of a candidate or party. I first discuss the *Globe and Mail* which, in its editorial, determines that the leader, who functions metaphorically as a guide, is an important determinant of the type of government that will result.

4.5 Case Studies: Visions of Government

4.5.1 Globe and Mail

A Template for a Leader

The *Globe* editorial expresses a concern "to protect Parliament, the heart of our democracy" [G.5], thereby framing its thesis as the need to choose a leader who will maintain the *Globe's* defined vision of Canada. The *Globe* incorporates this abstract level of thought as it develops a definition of leadership that serves this vision of democracy. For the *Globe*, governments (and parties) are defined in large measure by the personalities of their leaders; the editorial bases its endorsement on an implied and explicit description of desirable leadership traits.

Strong support for democracy and federalism informs the *Globe* editorial. The everyday issues that affect the country – the economy, national debt, and health care – are noted, but the *Globe* also considers Canada's actions beyond its national borders, moving from domestic issues, to relations with our closest neighbour [G.7], to armed conflict in Libya and Afghanistan. Climate change is presented as another far-reaching, significant issue that impinges on Canada's role and how that role is viewed by world powers. The *Globe* not only presents its vision for a bigger and bolder Canada, it outlines the traits of the leader who can “guide” Canada there [G.36]. In so doing, it presents a standard against which it can measure the suitability of Harper and other candidates. These standards or expectations reflect those values the *Globe* considers important, and that it assumes readers also consider important. At the end of the assessment, the *Globe* determines that “only” Harper can successfully meet these requirements [G.16]. The *Globe* editorial focuses on a vision of Canada as a nation that aspires to “something bigger and bolder” [G.3], both on the global stage and on the home front. The opening paragraph provides an implicit definition of a stimulating election campaign, one that includes an inspiring vision of the future, but that also involves looking after the “critical issues” of today [G.3]. All leaders and parties are accused of failing to provide this inspiring future vision because the campaign was “unremarkable and disappointing” [G.1]. The implication is that if a government does not take care of current electoral issues, it cannot aspire to work on the bigger issues facing the country. By default, then, an effective leader must be concerned with both the present and the future.

The *Globe*'s thesis employs a metaphor of the leader as a guide to describe its conception of the role a prime minister should play. A metaphor, by comparing the unknown with a known entity, helps readers conceptualize the prime ministerial role. While all aspects of the two entities may not directly correlate, a metaphor helps clarify an idea, even as it highlights related aspects of importance. The metaphor of the prime minister as guide embodies the *Globe*'s viewpoint of how the prime minister, as leader of the government, relates to citizens. This metaphor is general enough to be effective for all readers. The pertinent aspects involve the guide's role of leading people. A guide generally takes people where they want to go without abandoning the element of choice; people may be allowed to veer off in different directions. The guide may lead because the followers have never travelled there and do not know the path. However, there is an element

of independence because the followers choose the destination or endpoint. The metaphor implies that citizens may know the problems facing the country and how they envision Canada's future, but they do not necessarily know how to achieve these ends. A "guide" can take them there, if they choose to go, which is why the question of who (or whom) Canadians should "turn to" [G.10] provides a powerful nexus for the *Globe's* endorsement argument. The *Globe's* concluding endorsement, that "Stephen Harper and the Conservatives are best positioned to guide Canada there" [G.36], suggest that Harper epitomizes the traits of leadership developed by the *Globe*.

An effective leader, the *Globe* implies, respects and "protects" democratic institutions; however, this duty is incumbent on all parties, as is implied by the reference to the "next House of Commons" [G.5]. Using the formal terminology of House of Commons includes all parties, not just those on the government benches. This draws on reader background knowledge of prorogation (which it explicitly mentions later [G.21]) and the ensuing controversy when the Conservative government manipulated parliamentary procedure. The reference suggests that an effective leader of Canada will co-operate with other parties to ensure that Parliament and the integrity of democracy is protected. Parliament is the "heart of our democracy" [G.5], a statement that includes all Canadians. The *Globe* similarly implies that a leader has a duty to protect the tenets of federalism. An effective leader must embody the principles of fairness and equality, particularly in federal/provincial relations that include the distribution of wealth and benefits inherent in equalization programs (G.6). One region cannot benefit at the expense of another. Similarly, an effective leader must be able to guide Canada to a productive presence on the world stage. This leader is charged with the responsibility to provide protection on many levels: Canadians' interests in relation to the United States, the interests of people oppressed in places such as Libya and Afghanistan; and global interests threatened by climate change, to name a few [G.9]. An effective leader must understand and capably deal with a broad range of issues that impact Canada.

The editorial uses the campaign as a measure of the ability or potential of the candidates. Although Harper can be evaluated according to his record in office, that is not possible for the other candidates. The description of Ignatieff as a leader suggests that acting in a statesmanlike

manner is one of his more laudable qualities [G.11]. However, he has not demonstrated leadership and innovation: “his campaign failed to show how the Conservative government has failed” [G.12]. Nor did it present a vision of how the Liberals would improve the Tory record. The implication is that an effective leader must have a plan for the future, and, equally important, be able to communicate that plan to the electorate. Since the Liberals do not offer anything better than the Conservatives, there is no reason for change. The *Globe*’s underlying value of stability advocates against change without a demonstrated positive benefit. The editorial praises Ignatieff’s actions [G.11], a strategy that establishes its fair-minded ethos, but the basis of evaluation quickly shifts to the campaign [G.12]. Ignatieff’s personal conduct is assessed as exemplary, but he lacks vision and/or the ability to communicate that vision to the electorate, an integral leadership quality that the *Globe* expects his election campaign to demonstrate. Although this campaign criticism is framed as fact, the editorial does not provide any evidence to support the claim. The *Globe* assumes its readers will accept the claim without explicit support and that they will draw on their own background knowledge to provide the requisite evidence. The *Globe*’s choice to frame the refutation in this manner suggests that Ignatieff is not a viable option, and, therefore, to spend time arguing against him would give him more credence than is justified. Raising an objection indicates there is at least some substance to the claim (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 470) so the *Globe* chooses to discount Ignatieff as a candidate by portraying him as unequal to the task of a leader. This refutation indicates some of the traits the *Globe* values in a leader – foresight to plan for the future and the ability to communicate this to voters. The *Globe* suggests that Ignatieff, and by extension the Liberal Party, do not have the qualities needed to lead or guide Canada.

The leadership qualities attributed to Layton are his ability to energize his party and the electorate and his ability to connect with “ordinary people” [G.13]. But his policies are described as “unrealistic and unaffordable” [G.14], implying that fiscal prudence is a requirement of any leader. The *Globe* favours a leader who can appeal to Quebec voters without making promises that are detrimental to the rest of the country. An effective leader is inclusive, but balances the interests of all sectors – a federalist viewpoint. Although the *Globe*’s assessment relies on specific reasons, they are not supported by evidence; the editorial forces readers to develop the

claim, guided by the previous dismissal of Ignatieff, that Layton does not meet the standards of leadership needed to show why the NDP could replace the Liberals as a “preferred alternative” [G.12]. This judgment is presented as an unassailable fact, as was the case when Ignatieff was criticized. Having thus compared and measured the potential alternatives, the *Globe* concludes that “only” Harper and the Conservative Party have shown the necessary “leadership, bullheadedness, and discipline” [G.16]. From the newspaper’s perspective, the ability to build a “truly national” party” [G.17] demonstrates important traits valuing democracy, federalism, and fairness. More traits of an effective leader emerge: strength of character, desire to reform, economic prudence, moderation, and pragmatism [G.17, 18, 19]. The editorial admits that there are “some exceptions,” but concludes that Harper has performed well overall [G.19]. This acknowledgement suggests that effective leaders need not be perfect, but rather, must be judged on their overall record. The recognition of weakness demonstrates that the editorial is a fair-minded observer, and allows it to illustrate further traits that it considers essential in a leader – traits that it wants Harper to develop. Harper’s failings [G.22] are not framed as fatal flaws, but as good leadership qualities that have been inappropriately applied. The *Globe* values these traits for the most part, and thus has a tendency to overlook these excesses. Inversely, the *Globe* shows that a good leader respects Parliament and facilitates debate and free expression [G.21]. This description provides a detailed action plan for a leader to implement the philosophical concept of protecting Parliament [G.4].

The editorial proposes additional characteristics of an effective leader: principled judgment [G.24] and a tendency to be flexible, not doctrinaire [G.25]. These leadership traits embody both values and how they are applied to protect Canadians and to improve their lives. The editorial implies that positive traits by themselves are not enough, as in the case of Ignatieff; an effective leader uses the requisite skills and attitudes at appropriate times and in a variety of situations to achieve the goals that Canadians value. This valorization of the ability to apply traits effectively is illustrated by the wide range of examples provided, such as the economy, trade negotiations, taxes, and investment [G.24–28]. The health-care crisis is framed as being attributable largely to a lack of leadership; devising a solution requires innovation [G.35] and determination [G.29] because, although health care is a much-valued pillar of Canadian society,

its burgeoning costs threaten the country's economic health. Based on past performance, Harper has the "toughness and reformist instincts" [G.32] to balance these competing interests because leadership "instincts" or traits come naturally to him, a feature that implies future success. The *Globe* frames this launch into the future as a pivotal point. The leadership traits proposed are necessary to handle current issues but also to deal with the impending challenges. Harper's performance has been measured against the concept of the *Globe's* definition of an effective leader and he has met those standards, or more of them than have either of the other two possibilities. He is "best positioned" to guide Canada forward. In short, he is the candidate who has, to date, best demonstrated the traits of an effective leader; at worst, he has demonstrated the promise that he can do so. Against the *Globe's* standard of effective leadership, Harper meets the bar; he has not fallen short as have Ignatieff and Layton.

The assessment of Harper is a judgment based on the issues raised in the opening paragraphs: the ability to handle domestic issues (economy, debt, and health care), protect democracy, and help Canada assume its rightful role in the world. This editorial foregrounds what a leader needs to do and shows that, of the three possibilities, Harper best fits the bill. Layton is disqualified because he would harm the economy and deal with Quebec in a manner unfair to other provinces. No specific reason is alleged against Ignatieff, other than the *Globe's* belief that he has not proven why he would be better or why the Conservatives should not be returned to office. Ignatieff and the Liberals do not fit the template of good leadership that reflects the *Globe's* underlying conservative values. The *Globe* implicitly develops its definition of an effective leader, one who can guide Canada through the problems of today and towards the vision of tomorrow. This template of an effective leader may be modelled on Harper, or it may have been developed independently, but either way, it is used to persuade readers of the traits needed in the next prime minister and to recommend the contender who best exemplifies these qualities. The *Globe* argues that voters should continue to support Harper because he fits the template of an effective leader developed in the editorial.

Although the *National Post* also determines that Harper is the best choice as leader, it arrives there by employing a slightly different definition of leadership, one that is grounded in the concept of fairness.

4.5.2 *National Post*

A Good Leader Exemplifies Values of Fairness

Similar to the *Globe and Mail*, the *National Post* is concerned with the values of democracy, particularly government and its ability to function effectively. Its editorial considers the broader global context and the financial meltdown of other countries to underscore its own focus on economic stability. Leadership is considered key to ensuring that Canada weathers the economic uncertainty and aspires to a grander future vision. The *National Post*'s image of an effective leader differs from that of the *Globe*, although it reaches the same conclusion: Harper is the best choice. The *Post* editorial is based on an ingrained value of fairness: fair treatment for members of a federation, protection of the rights of the oppressed, and social and economic equality for citizens. This concept of fairness and the stability that it creates permeate the *Post*'s judgments. The crux of its argument is set forth in its thesis: "The main question in this election is about who can steer Canada forward during uncertain economic times" [P.6]. The main issue facing Canada is a desire to progress and to move forward despite global economic conditions that have rocked, but not capsized, the Canadian economy. The editorial encapsulates a desire for stability in both the economy and the political sphere.

The *Post*'s Canadian leader is described metaphorically as a captain. Although not explicitly stated in the text, this metaphor emerges from various cues and descriptions. Comparing a leader to a captain implies a specific interpretation of the expected actions and goals of the person who "steers Canada forward during uncertain economic times" [P.6]. A captain is responsible for the ship: guiding it on its journey, negotiating stormy waters, navigating rocks and shoals, and delivering the crew, passengers, and vessel to the final destination. For the *Post*, the election provides an opportunity for the passengers to select the captain with whom they will sail for the next four years. As captain of the ship of state, the

leader of Canada charts the course and navigates Canada through the many challenges that lie ahead. However, after passengers have selected (or elected) the captain, they are aboard with little chance to change either course or captain. As such, passengers need to trust that the captain will take them to their destination in the best possible manner. The *Post*, promoting Harper as the best captain in the selection pool, bases its arguments on fairness, a value that it expects will resonate with its readers. The identification of readers with this value is leveraged by the editorial to persuade them to vote for the Conservatives. Fairness, as applied in various aspects of political life, is a means to achieve the desired stability, the editorial suggests. Stability results when things are in balance, in particular when each segment is happy with its position, whereas instability often results from inequality or unfairness. The captain metaphor connotes an active role, plotting a course and steering the ship, as evidenced by the active verbal constructions used to describe Harper's first years in office. Harper "governed the country well," "stuck by," "provided sound stewardship," "managed," "lowered taxes and implemented ... tweaks" and "avoided ... temptation" [P.1–3]. In the most recent mandate, Harper as captain was also actively involved: Canadians "contributed effectively and honourably to the mission in Afghanistan;" "stood with" Afghanistan and Israel [P.9, P.11]; and "struck a solid balance" ... while "stripping away" ultra-liberal excesses [P.12]. Based on this past performance, the editorial assumes the Harper Conservatives will continue to actively govern; it requests that they "push forward on projects" ... "eliminating," "phasing out," "initiating" [P.40]; and "finally and decisively reject[ing]" a strict interpretation of the health act [P.41]. By using the captain metaphor, the *Post* implies that the leader or captain makes the big decisions, and voters must trust that these will be correct.

The captain or leader must also have a global perspective. The *Post*'s editorial focuses on the fragile world situation, one that is rife with areas of discontent and upheaval. However, its concerns are not as expansive as the *Globe*'s, which extended to areas such as global warming. The *Post* focuses on world situations where Canada has had, or could have, a direct influence, or on those in which the impact may be felt in Canada. Although the editorial presents many examples, they coalesce around a particular world view of what is important. These traditional values protect those who have been invaded or oppressed, respect Canada's American

neighbours, and chart a moderate course in social policy. The fact that Canada has “stood by Israel in times of crisis” [P.11] is portrayed positively. Taking military action to alleviate flawed conditions in Afghanistan and Libya is also represented as admirable. The *Post* praises Harper’s foreign policy by including a disparaging reference to the foreign policies of the previous Liberal regimes: “The anti-Americanism that infected the government during the Chrétien and Martin eras is gone – as is the moral relativism that sometimes was the reality behind their ‘soft power’ dogmas” [P.10]. This reference to “moral relativism” suggests the Liberal government prioritized political expediency in its decision-making, replacing concrete and forceful action with denouncements and verbal disagreement. The *Post* may be referring to the Liberal’s non-intervention in Iraq, silence on the Armenian genocide, or policies in the Middle East, yet the lack of concrete examples makes it difficult to determine precisely which policies the writers reject. “Moral relativism” has strong connotations of weakness and vacillation, which contrasts with the *Post*’s prioritization of fairness and leadership. Using the term “dogma” also suggests an ideologically driven paradigm which overrides rational evidence, implying that the Liberal decision-making model is fundamentally flawed and biased. The connotative difference can be contrasted with praise for the balanced and principled foundation of Conservative foreign policy. The editorial expects readers to agree without question with this emotion-laden, subjective statement. The presentation of this claim as fact implies that the reader either already holds these same views, or is willing to consider them without extensive persuasion. The editorial approves of the removal of the “anti-Americanism” that infected the Liberal government during the Chrétien and Martin eras. Portraying anti-Americanism as a disease implies that it was justly removed and that it is a wrong that should be righted. Respect for Americans, Canada’s largest trading partner, is a valued trait that will resonate with business readers. On social issues, the editorial portrays Harper’s actions as staking out a middle ground. There is a “solid balance” between maintaining elements such as legalizing gay marriage and eliminating the “ultra-liberal excesses” in the challenges program concerning the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Supporting gay marriage suggests views that are not right-wing, while opposing the Court Challenges program [P.12] suggests that Harper is not left-wing either. These examples portray a leader who has a plan, makes decisions, and constantly balances the needs of various groups; in other words,

he (or she) applies the principle of fairness to many areas. These examples, while appealing to readers involved in business or interested in global and national affairs, serve to illustrate a moderate conservative point of view. Military intervention is acceptable to alleviate wrongs, confrontation with our largest trading partner is counter-productive, and social policy should ensure fairness for all groups.

The *Post*'s assessment of "sensible changes" to immigration – valuing skills over family reunification – is directed at a particular segment of the voting public [P.13]. Business owners or managers might well view these as advantageous changes because they increase the available work force. Employees might not perceive them as "sensible" or fair changes because immigrants with marketable skills could supplant these readers, or at least compete with them for the same jobs. Similarly, the positive assessment of the changes to the Citizenship Guide to "reflect the process of integration and respect for Western cultural values that we expect of immigrants" suggests a nationalist viewpoint that embraces long-time Canadians, rather than recent immigrants. The editorial chooses examples of fairness and equality that resonate with its invoked audience (Ede and Lunsford 156) of readers who are educated, middle- or upper-middle class with the means to travel abroad, whether for pleasure or business. A strong moralistic code that relies on a sense of fairness and equality interlaces these reasons for re-electing the Conservatives [P.8–14]. However, the newspaper also suggests that this fairness and equality will be lost if the Tories do not receive a majority to ensure that they control Parliament. The *Post* editorial paints a picture of the disarray that may ensue in Quebec if the Parti Québécois wins and provokes "fresh Separatist agitation" [P.17]. A "Parliament vulnerable to regional blackmail" violates federalism and the expected fair and equal treatment of all members. The editorial implies that a captain will need strong skills to navigate this potential maelstrom. Similarly, the lack of a majority would allow the Liberals to hijack the parliamentary process and seize power through a coalition that relies on the support of the Bloc Québécois. The description of the subsequent parliamentary arrangement as a "coalition" (set in quotation marks to illustrate the term's questionability), or a "hodge-podge," suggests the perceived illegality: "Whether such an arrangement amounts to a 'coalition' in a narrow sense is immaterial so long as the resulting hodge-podge is a creature of Gilles Duceppe's co-operation" [P.24]. At the very least, it would

be unethical or immoral on the part of those who form the coalition. A leader must be ethical and play by the rules, particularly parliamentary rules, and not manipulate them to seize power, the editorial implies. Nor is the NDP's Layton considered a viable leader: he has revealed himself to be "alarmingly sympathetic to the power-grab demands of Quebec nationalists" [P.26].

Federalism, according to the *Post*, requires fair and equal treatment for partners and Layton has not shown himself as capable of this fairness in relation to Quebec. Although keeping Quebec within the fold of federalism is important, it cannot be accomplished by acceding to demands that are unfair to the rest of the provinces. The instability that would result from the pseudo-coalitions and from Quebec's ransom demands are depicted as destabilizing factors that blatantly violate the *Post*'s sense of fairness and stability. The editorial illustrates that Ignatieff and Layton do not have the leadership traits needed to move Canada forward. Nor do the leaders of the opposition parties have the moral foundation that Canada needs and deserves; they would therefore undermine the nation's stability. The *Post* presents an argument supporting the Conservatives from a nationalist and federalist vision of Canada that establishes the fairness of relations between the provinces.

Because instability is particularly abhorrent to business owners and politicians, the *Post* presents logical reasons why the Tories should be returned to power. But more importantly, it also imparts an emotive description of the instability that it predicts will result if the Tories do not get a majority: "We could end up with a government led by quasi-separatist socialists, propped up by full-blown separatists and leavened by a rudderless Liberal party in a state of leadership flux" [P.27]. None of the possible scenarios are pure or untainted. The separatists are described as "quasi" or "full-blown," implying that absolute or perfect states of separatism are possible, but not likely in the imagined scenario. To describe the Liberal Party as "rudderless" reprises the captain metaphor, with the clear implication that Ignatieff is not a suitable captain for government. The editorial implies that if the opposition leaders can unfairly seize power, they cannot later be trusted to ensure fairness in governance. The *Post* applies this principle of fairness to its own assessment of the Tories by criticizing them for past actions. An accounting of what the Tories have done well, where they have strayed, and where they can improve is

conducted, and this application of its own values enhances the *Post*'s ethos by showing that it is fair in its assessments, thus persuading readers to accept its endorsement.

The *Post* frames its first endorsement as a choice between stability and instability: "Given Mr. Harper's record of intelligent, sober leadership, and the many question marks associated with his opponents, his Conservatives are our clear choice in Monday's election" [P.7]. The editorial judges that Harper has provided sober leadership in the form of "steadiness and constancy" [P.6], as is expected of a captain. The question marks associated with the opponents constitute instability, which the *Post* does not value in government. The *Post* envisions government as a steady and consistent entity, with a strong leader and a co-operative crew comprised of all members of the House. In its kairotic statement, the *Post* describes the instability that currently exists: "bickering parties locked in a minority Parliament" [P.43] and conveys impatience: "The time has come to break this logjam" [P.44]. The implication is that the next leader must exercise fairness and determination to resolve this unacceptable situation. This sense of urgency incorporates a pathetic appeal as it prepares readers for the call-to-action, in which the *Post* urges its readers to vote Conservative.

The value of fairness underlies the *Post*'s evaluation of the issues they consider important in the realms of domestic/national policy and international relations. Fairness falls within the values accepted as starting points for argumentation [Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 74]. This editorial is aimed at increasing the adherence of "our readers" [P.44], a particular group that is invoked by the examples and the manner in which they are framed (Ede and Lunsford 156). The *Post* editorial also invokes regular readers by including the editorial written three years prior only as a reminder, rather than providing new information. References to the televised debate similarly assume knowledge of the election context. The editorial's description of Harper's "record of intelligent, sober leadership" [P.7] suggests that intellect is a valued trait in a leader. (Later in this chapter, I illustrate how this same trait is criticized when the *Toronto Sun* applies it to Ignatieff.) Even health care is framed as an issue of fairness. The *Post* assumes that its readers consider it unfair if they cannot access health care in a timely manner. The editorial's advocacy of "a European-style mixed system of public and private health care" [P.42] reflects a perceived willingness on the part of readers to pay for improved care. Yet, this is not an example of

fairness in health care for working or unemployed people who could not afford the extra cost. Fairness is a value that many business people subscribe to; they want a level playing field and rules and regulations that provide them with a fair chance to succeed. The *Post* depicts a relatively bourgeois concept of leadership that is based on upper-middle-class values of fairness, stability, decisive leadership, and innovation. By contrast, Layton is depicted as offering a different style of leadership: people centred, approachable, but lacking substance. Ignatieff offers a statesmanlike profile, but the *Post* proclaims this is not sufficient for leadership if it is not supported by a progressive agenda and the ability to convey this vision to voters. The *Post*'s template for leadership is firmly grounded in concepts of fairness that must be applied in all aspects of governance.

The *Globe* and *Post* present concepts of government that establish the leader or prime minister as a key figure who sets the government's tone and agenda. Both newspapers value steadiness and constancy in a leader who should embrace and protect democratic principles. However, the *Toronto Star* presents a different conception of government. For the *Star*, government is an entity that exists before, and continues to exist after, an election. Government, in this relatively apolitical view, continues to function regardless of which party fills the seats on the government side of the House of Commons.

4.5.3 *Toronto Star*

Stability Can Result From Change

While both the *Globe* and the *Post* focus on the importance of leadership as they outline their conception of the traits of an acceptable leader, the *Star* focuses on government as an institution that endures despite changes of parties and/or leaders. In the *Star*'s value system, government can be "a vitally relevant part of the solution – if it wants to be" [ST1.40]. Government as an institution safeguards the *Star*'s bedrock values of stability and progress that it considers an integral contribution to "charting a better future for the country" [ST2.4]. This

concept of government as an ongoing institution allows the *Star* to propose a radical shift in its allegiance without compromising its goal of stability.

In a sustained argument spanning two editorials, the *Star* presents a concept of government that does not revolve around a person or party, but instead centres on a Parliament that comprises the party sitting as the government as well as all other elected Members of Parliament sitting in opposition. This more inclusive view suggests a government that endures regardless of which party or parties fill governmental roles. The government envisioned by the *Star* is apolitical; the role of government can be filled by different parties or leaders without impacting stability. The *Star* praises both parties equally for their work: “previous Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments” who built credibility for Canada around the world [ST1.21]. The Liberals are credited with “tough and deficit-fighting work” [ST1.33]. The New Democrats are a “credible force” [ST2.13] that pledges to balance the budget in the same time frame as the Liberals and Conservatives [ST2.24]. The *Star* shows itself to be non-partisan in its praise of actions that it considers appropriate and that fit with its vision of government. The position of prime minister is not a critical aspect of the *Star*’s version of government; its editorials do not use the term, either in generic form or as a title for Harper. The editorial refers to the Conservatives, Harper’s Conservatives, or the Harper government. Harper himself is described, not in his prime ministerial role, but as “the guy in charge” [ST1.15], a colloquial reference that downplays the prestige of the position. Harper is also soundly criticized for what he is not: “a more mature, more inclusive leader” [ST1.3]. Harper the man is depicted as a hypocrite who “has betrayed – or forgotten – the democratic Reform principles” [ST1.17]. The Conservatives have “diminished themselves and our national politics” [ST1.40]. In these references, the *Star* establishes that government has its own identity that is not dependent on the party or leader that is currently in power.

The *Star* considers government as a powerful and “relevant” force in society. Government is not necessarily “the solution to all problems” [ST1.37], but its criticism of “smaller government, a diminished role ... in national affairs,” and a reduction in social services illustrates that the *Star* envisions an interventionist role for government. The editorial presents readers with its vision of what government can do for the country: “a progressive constructive

role in international affairs” [ST1.23] and “a bold vision of a better Canada five and 10 years down the road” [ST1.36]. The *Star* appeals to “voters who believe that Canada can – and should – aim higher” [ST2.5]. The Harper Conservatives are rejected because they offer a “crabbed narrow vision” [ST2.44] that conflicts with the bold, progressive vision of an activist government that the *Star* proposes. The *Star* also proposes that Canada can achieve these goals if the appropriate party is placed in government. “Until 10 days ago, they [voters] had only one realistic alternative to the Conservatives – the Liberal party under Michael Ignatieff” [ST2.6]. However, the *Star* suggests there is now another option to provide Canadians with the type of government they want and deserve. The only remaining question is which party can best provide it. This concept fits with the *Star*’s editorial position that swings its support to the NDP. The *Star* argues that, despite previous concerns about the NDP as “naive idealists” [ST2.11], it has now become the party that can provide Canada with the government it wants, as that role has been defined by the *Star* editorial. The support provided for the NDP focuses almost entirely on the party and its platform, with only a brief reference to Layton as a “leader who has won the trust of many voters” [ST2.25]. The editorial considers that parties, similar to governments, are more enduring than their leaders, who enjoy a more transient existence. The *Star* implies support of a government that is proactive and interventionist to a degree, and concerned with the “long-term unity of the country” [ST2.16]. The *Star* suggests its emphasis on the primacy of government is founded in basic democratic principles, “in the broad tradition of nation-building that has long been at the heart of Canadian politics” [ST2.20]. Because the NDP can fulfill this conception of government as it should be, the *Star* can shift its traditional allegiance to support the party. At the same time, the *Star* provides insight into its preferred social policies by criticizing what a Harper majority would entail: “a push, if not a lurch, to the right on social issues” [ST1.35]. The NDP platform provides an acceptable solution because it “puts people first” and “focuses on seniors, health care and the environment” [ST2.18, 19]. The valorization of Tommy Douglas, Allan Blakeney, and Roy Romanow [ST2.31] suggests that the social issues espoused by the NDP are not naive; they are ideals that can be successfully implemented. The NDP under Layton gains credibility by this transference of the positive assessment of these successful, socially conscious forerunners.

Government's enduring role transcends the political influences of parties and leaders in the *Star*'s value system. The prized stability results from this continuing form of government or the "role of the state in charting a better future for the country" [ST2.4]. For the *Star*, the type of government is more important than the party that fills the seats. This belief in the ongoing role of government rests, in part, on the demonstrated stability of the Canadian parliamentary system. Legislative rules, as noted in the fuller discussion in chapter 2, provide a means by which a minority government can retain the confidence of the House, or, failing that, allow for an orderly transition through election or appointment. In addition, the stability of the bureaucracy provides a sense of continuity for programs and services. The three- and, more recently, four- party system in Canada offers variations, rather than wholesale change, in elections. The political spectrum from which Canadians can choose is relatively limited, and, as noted earlier, these parties mainly support the status quo. The *Star* is quite forthright in its support of a form of government that promotes "small-l liberal values" and notes that it "fundamentally" disagrees with the values of the Harper Conservatives. "The *Star* is not a mouthpiece for any political party" and "has traditionally given its editorial endorsement to the party and leader it believes most likely to advance the progressive principles this news organization stands for" (English "Opinions"). For the *Star*, the form and values of government are the given, and the variable is which party and leader are prepared to provide that for the voters who share this vision with the *Star*.

In its choice of examples to support its argument, the *Star* focuses on Canada as a nation. There are fleeting references to closer trade links with the U.S., a distinct role in the Middle East, opposing apartheid in South Africa, and the failure to obtain a seat on the UN Security Council [ST1.22, 23], but the majority of reasons, especially those that support the NDP, focus on domestic issues: maintaining national unity through stability in Quebec [ST2.14-17]; bettering the lives of citizens [ST2.18-21]; and protecting the economy [ST2.22-24]. All these point to a bigger and better Canada tomorrow, while improving the lives of Canadians today. The *Star* addresses its argument to Canadian voters who similarly believe that government has a role to play in their lives with respect to improving their economic and social status. In particular, the editorial directly addresses voters who are "progressive" [ST2.10], who "believe that Canada can

– and should – aim higher” [ST2.5], and who “believe Canada should aspire to something greater than the narrow, crabbed vision offered by the Harper Conservatives” [ST2.44]. These are not philosophical visions but concrete issues that appeal to the working or middle class: seniors and health care [ST2.19] and small business and personal taxes [ST2.23]. The editorial also invokes readers who have a respect for the money they earn and who do not want their taxes squandered by government. The editorial uses examples which an average reader can identify as government waste: a “blank cheque for fancy fighter jets that we don’t need” [ST1.26] and “pork-barrelling around the G8/G20 summits” [ST1.25]. *Star* readers work for their money, and they want to ensure that it is used wisely.

This focus on government as an ongoing entity regardless of the party at the helm allows the *Star* to shift its support from its traditional Liberal base to the NDP and still maintain its credibility as a reliable commentator. Because the *Star* links its support to the vision of government that it feels readers want, it can suggest rejecting the Liberals because they no longer can provide the kind of government that fits with the newspaper’s viewpoint.

Although the *Star* presents an apolitical form of government, in which government endures regardless of who fills the government benches, the *Toronto Sun* presents a distinctly different version of government in which the leader, party, and government are synonymous. For the *Sun*, government is Stephen Harper and the Conservatives.

4.5.4 *Toronto Sun*

A Warning and Threat Addressed to Stephen Harper

The *Toronto Sun* provides readers with its own individual version of government – one that reflects the personalities of the leaders. In the *Sun* editorial, the leader is a metonym that stands in for, or is synonymous with, the party, and, in the case of the Conservatives, the government. Harper *is* the government and the Conservative Party, while the Conservatives are the embodiment of Harper’s beliefs. In the *Sun*’s conception, government is not a separate entity from the political party that inhabits it. The newspaper endorses the Harper brand of government,

not those of the possible alternatives. As leader of the Conservative Party, Harper embodies all that is good, and bad, about the party and the government through the concept of co-existence (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 296). This close linkage between leader and party is emphasized by the *Sun* when it states: “In 2006, Harper vowed accountability and transparency in his government” [SU.10, my emphasis]; Harper “owns” and controls the government that he heads. The *Sun* establishes a direct line of responsibility between the leader and the kind of government that ensues, which provides the *Sun* with the justification to chastise Harper for the government’s actions.

The editorial explicitly outlines its values and beliefs: The *Sun* “has always stood for the advancement of small-c conservatism, and our demand for transparency in a smaller but efficient government” [SU.6]. With these values clearly established, the *Sun* expresses abhorrence at the “bloated” civil service [SU.7], Harper’s attempts to “muzzle his caucus and stifle the flow of public information” [SU.8], or “maxing credit” and “taxing Canadians into despair” [SU.18]. For the *Sun*, smaller but efficient government includes a strong economy, lower taxation, and deficit control, but not necessarily social programs. The question is not who or which party is best suited to form a government. The answer is clearly understood and given: the Tories. The ensuing discussion revolves around what Harper and the Conservatives must do to achieve the “changes this country desperately needs” [SU.2]. The *Sun* does not urge Canada to take a role on the world stage or to protect democracy. It presents a straightforward argument predicated on personalities and everyday experiences that resonate with its readers. Abstract conceptions such as accountability and transparency are presented as concrete images that fall within the everyday scope of readers. To accuse Harper of “muzzling his caucus” evokes the metaphor of a barking dog that is forcibly silenced [SU.10]. Yet within this metaphor is a suggestion that there may be some validity in the muzzling of those who might speak out of turn. The free flow of information, similarly, becomes more concrete when the editorial suggests that information about the costs of the CBC, long an object of the *Sun*’s criticism, should be available on a public website [SU.10]. The “bloated” civil service is presented as “one in seven eligible voters” [SU.8], a ratio that a reader without significant math skills can visualize and evaluate as far too high. The *Sun*’s “small-c conservatism” suggests an approach to life that encapsulates the

morality of the working classes: good things come to those who work for them – be honest, law-abiding and respect individual rights.

The *Sun* bases its leadership assessment on personalities, which ensures that they are understandable and memorable. Ignatieff is described using a pejorative patrician metaphor: “high in forehead but short on insight” [SU.14], falsely but effectively conflating his background as an academic with a lack of common sense. Earlier in this chapter, I noted that the *Post*, in contrast to the *Sun*, praises intelligence as a desirable trait in a leader. The suggestion that Ignatieff expects to be “consecrated based on his perceived Liberal entitlement” [SU.15] completes this caricature that clearly separates Ignatieff from readers on the basis of class and education by creating a him-versus-us mentality (Burke, *Rhetoric* 20). This argument against Ignatieff does not address politics or policies; it is based on class and economic factors. The Liberals are deemed not suitable to govern because their leader is not suitable. Criticisms of the NDP’s Jack Layton are policy based because Layton, in his role as leader of the populist NDP, is not perceived as an elite. Although the *Sun* could have attacked Layton on the basis of his education, the editorial chooses to base its criticism on a lack of common sense. The colloquial phrase that “Jack knows jack” is a humorous pun, but it also presents the criticism in such a way that it puts Layton on the same level as the readers who might well use this or a similar phrase to disparage a fellow worker. The editorial backs up this criticism by showing the inherent conflict in Layton’s policies: the NDP’s support of cap-and-trade seemingly contradicts a promise to reduce gas taxes [SU.17]. The implication is that Layton talks a good story that has little grounding in reality. Although Layton is presented to readers as “one of us,” this example shows that he is actually advocating policies that will hurt the average person. By implying that Layton would betray his class roots, the editorial portrays him as a hypocrite or turncoat. The NDP are therefore disqualified from governing by the same premise as were the Liberals; their leader does not have the requisite qualities.

The *Sun*’s arguments are addressed to working-class readers, as evidenced by the examples and how they are framed. The examples are not abstract concepts, such as democracy, but rather everyday issues such as “home heating, electricity and gas prices” [SU.17]. These are issues of concern to most working-class people, who must stretch their pay cheques to cover

these essentials. Democracy, global affairs, or proroguing government are far removed from their spheres of influence or interest. In the final refutation section, the editorial continues this class-based argument by elevating readers/taxpayers to the position of boss, building up their self-esteem to inspire them to accept the editorial's argument and take the suggested action. The *Sun* simplifies the role of prime minister, reducing it to a relationship with which most readers have personal experience. Although the taxpayer/prime minister relationship is depicted as an employer/employee relationship, this does not accurately represent the lines of accountability. A more precise analogy might be that of the chief executive officer (CEO) of a corporation who is answerable to shareholders (taxpayers). In this metaphor, shareholders have a vested interest, but do not have direct control over the CEO's actions. They review the work of the CEO and board at annual meetings, a process similar to the review taxpayers engage in during elections. This business-based metaphor might be appropriate for a *Post* or *Globe* reader, but would not be as familiar or as compelling to a *Sun* reader.

A further example of this class-based value system is evident in the modes of address used. The *Globe* and the *Post* use the honorific "Mr." with Stephen Harper, indicating a respectful treatment. This class-based form of address – traditional but gentlemanly – retains a respectful distance between the editorials and Harper. The *Post* uses the honorific with both Layton and Ignatieff, in accordance with its style. And although usage of the honorific is also conventional *Globe* style, only Mr. Harper is accorded the privilege of this form of address. Ignatieff and Layton are initially referred to by their full names, but thereafter become simply "he." The *Star* promotes an egalitarian use of only surnames. The *Sun*, by comparison, varies its use. It refers to Layton as Jack, signifying familiarity and, perhaps, a lack of respect; Harper and Ignatieff are referred to by surname, a more working-class form of address. These "naming conventions" signify different assessments by the editorial of its relationship with the person and of the formality of the situation (Hodge and Kress 200). These forms of address indicate a degree of either distance or familiarity, as the case may be. By reducing the arguments to personalities – Harper as opposed to Ignatieff and Layton – and to issues that are concrete and personally relevant to readers, the *Sun* creates a simple equation for the election. Readers can vote for the Tories, despite their flaws, with the knowledge that the *Sun* will be supervising and ensuring that

the government performs according to plan. By providing a concept of government with which readers can identify, the *Sun* connects with readers on an emotional level, gaining their acceptance of the editorial's position. The *Sun*'s conception of government is epitomized by Harper and his Conservatives, but that does not mean they are perfect, and the *Sun* takes the opportunity afforded by the editorial to advise Harper that improvements are expected.

Discussion

The four newspapers each present a different conception of government as they perceive it should operate in Canada at this time. Each relies upon a respect for, and a belief in, democracy and promotes a vision of government that it believes will protect these democratic values and ensure a better life for citizens. The *Globe* and the *Post* focus on the need for a strong leader to ensure that government can fulfill its obligations. The editorials arrive at the same conclusion: Harper is best suited for the job and therefore deserves their endorsement because he best meets their criteria of an effective leader. The *Star*, however, does not equate the leader with government in the same manner and argues for a type of government that endures regardless of which party fills the seats in Parliament. The *Star* implies that government values should not be predicated on parties and leaders, which are transitory. This viewpoint allows the *Star* to denounce the incumbent Conservatives, turn away from its traditional support of the Liberal Party, and advocate electing the New Democrats because they will provide the type of government the *Star* endorses. By contrast, the *Sun* conceives of government as synonymous with the Tories, but assumes the role of referee to ensure that the Tories respect readers' values.

These varying versions of government reveal some of the values and beliefs that each newspaper holds. Although these values are not always presented explicitly, textual cues provide insights. But what is not addressed textually can also reveal as much, if not more, about the values and positioning of a newspaper. In the next section, I note some of the issues that are not dealt with, or not dealt with extensively, and some of the groups whose viewpoints are not represented in the texts.

4.6 Voices Not Heard

The Unemployed, the Homeless, and Women are Silent

Some aspects of Canadian politics and society are not mentioned in these sample editorials, suggesting that they may not be considered important tenets of the newspaper's viewpoint. Choices made by editorial writers concerning which issues to present or make prominent reflect some of the values of the newspaper. Elizabeth May and the Green Party are not mentioned as participants in the election, let alone included as a serious alternative that warrants discussion. This omission implies a judgment of the newspapers that the party is not strong enough to be considered on the national stage. It may also reflect a sense that environmental issues do not concern their readers; the only discussion of the environment is the *Globe's* passing reference to "climate change" [G.4] and the *Star's* note that the NDP platform includes "the environment" [ST2.19]. Nor do the editorials consider university funding, student concerns, or social issues such as day care that largely affect, and might be of specific interest to, women. The homeless, the unemployed, native Canadians, and the mentally ill are also conspicuous in their absence from these plans for creating a bigger and bolder Canada. The *Sun* presents itself as the voice of the working class, but, in this editorial, it does not use its self-appointed position as champion of the underdog to fight for the rights of the marginalized. The *Star* specifically applauds the NDP platform because it focuses on people: "seniors, health care and the environment" [ST2.19]. The *Globe* and the *Post* do not mention social issues because their constituency rests on those who have more than sufficient means of support. This is not to suggest that these newspapers are not concerned about social issues or marginalized groups; rather, these are not considered issues that warrant discussion in these endorsement editorials as they deliberate on the best course of action for Canada. The views presented represent the interests of business, government, and working people, or, in other words, the audience that is invoked and is congruent with the audience addressed.

In addition, certain issues are either not addressed, or only mentioned in vague terms, which further sheds light on the contrasting viewpoints of the newspapers. Prorogation is considered a serious abuse of power in a democracy, yet, of the five editorials, the *Globe* is the only newspaper that mentions it in anything but oblique terms. The *Globe*, in presenting its

vision of government, argues that the next House of Commons must find “new ways to protect Parliament, the heart of our democracy” [G.5], a subtle allusion to the concern over prorogation. The *Globe* enlarges on this, including prorogation in a list of other abuses: “the great strike against the Conservatives: a disrespect for Parliament, the abuse of prorogation, the repeated attempts ... to stanch debate and free expression” [G.21]. The *Globe*, however, appears to downplay the historic significance of this second use of prorogation. For citizens originally from countries where democracy was tenuous or absent, this abuse of the democratic process could be seen as a much more serious concern than the *Globe* portrays it. Nor does the *Star* mention prorogation, an abuse of power that offers a strong argument against re-electing the Conservatives. Instead, the *Star* is the only newspaper to note that Canada was rejected for a UN seat, perhaps reflecting its belief that a foreign profile is important.

The issues mentioned in the endorsement editorials, and those downplayed or avoided, also help to reveal the positioning of each newspaper. By considering the concerns an editorial chooses to address and the manner in which it presents them, we gain insight into the values and beliefs that form the core of a newspaper’s political stance. However, the way in which an editorial positions itself in relation to its readers and to the power structures of society also provides insight into its values.

4.7 Editorials Reflect and Create Power Relations

In Canada, voters cast their ballot for a local candidate who may or may not become part of the governing party. Citizens do not vote directly for either the prime minister or the government, both of which attain their positions by winning a plurality of the seats. Readers as individual voters do not directly influence the outcome of an election. Voters have the ability to effect change that may alleviate the exigence that prompted the editorial, but only indirectly (Bitzer, “Rhetorical” 221). Voters may choose a candidate on the basis of party affiliation and/or platform, but must wait to see if that party receives sufficient seats to form the government and therefore be in a position to implement the platform outlined in the election campaign. In addition, readers as voters have limited means to directly address the government as an entity.

Voters may privately grumble about government actions, write letters to the editor, talk to their Member of Parliament, or sign petitions, but they do not have a public venue that is assured of catching the government's ear. As a mass medium and an acknowledged source of information, a newspaper offers one conduit to the government. In a democratic system such as Canada's, the newspaper editorial is a socially accepted forum in which to criticize or question the government. Editorials can address the government on behalf of their readers and/or on behalf of the newspaper as a thought leader in the community. The newspaper, through its editorials, can serve as the unofficial, but loyal, opposition: raising concerns, questioning actions, proposing new considerations. Editorials thus speak to their readers, but they often address the government at the same time, either obliquely or explicitly. Editorials are also described as conversations among the economic and power elites, with readers in the role of spectator rather than audience addressed (Henry and Tator 93). In certain cases, the actual audience is less important than the indirect audience to whom a speaker or writer appeals (Jasinski 69). Editorials containing opinions that criticize the government or that propose new ways to approach problems may appear to be addressed to the reader, but, in reality, the newspaper assumes that politicians and government officials are also among the readers. The *Globe*, *Post*, and *Star* use the editorial as a channel to advise the government on how it can, and should, improve. The editorial thereby puts these ideas on the public agenda to stimulate discussion among readers, but also to alert the government that these are issues the newspaper considers important.

The *Sun*, however, takes this role even more seriously and lectures the Conservatives directly; its public rebuke puts Harper and his government on notice that the *Sun* will be monitoring their performance. The editorial is very much about the *Sun* as a newspaper and its position as opinion leader. The *Sun* draws on its status as the flagship newspaper of the Sun Media newspaper chain for additional editorial credibility, showing both corporate support for the Tories and a widespread geographic backing, given that the chain encompasses newspapers in Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Ottawa. The fact that a corporate or group editorial is relatively uncommon implies the strength of the chain's support for the Tories and lends more weight to the editorial's opinions. Each of the newspapers in this sample set establishes itself, to varying degrees, as a spokesperson for issues that concern its individual

audiences and thus positions itself to act as a broker between voters and politicians. At the same time, the newspapers are also representing their own interests as part of their business and political communities. As noted previously, the *Globe* and the *Post* are recognized as strong voices for business and political sectors. The *Star* speaks to a more middle-class perspective, while the *Sun* aligns itself with the average working person. These perspectives reveal their long-standing values textually; I review those traditions briefly here, drawing on published sources in which the newspapers themselves comment on their political positioning.

The *Globe and Mail*, generally considered the conservative voice of the business establishment, traces its roots to 1844 when the *Globe* was founded as a Grit Party organ by Scottish immigrant George Brown who favoured liberal politics. The paper is considered the voice of the elite, the Bay street financial community, and the intellectuals of university and government. In the past century, the newspaper has consistently endorsed either the Liberal Party or the Progressive Conservative Party. John Geiger, editor of the editorial board, in commenting on the 2011 endorsement editorial, notes that the *Globe* has endorsed political parties since its founding:

[The *Globe*] was initially staunchly Liberal. It has endorsed Conservatives (Drew, Diefenbaker, Mulroney, Charest, Harper) and Liberals (Pearson, Trudeau, Chrétien, Martin). It's a responsibility we take very seriously. I can tell you it was a real debate [in 2011], there were different views, [and] everyone had their say. But in the end, we settled on Mr. Harper for the reasons that are set out in the editorial. ("Reader reaction")

As Geiger notes, an endorsement decision is not made lightly by respected information sources such as the *Globe* or, I suggest, the *National Post*. Conrad Black launched the *Post* in 1998 to compete with the *Globe*. The new newspaper was built around the 114-year-old *Financial Post*, which lives on in the title of the paper's business section. Black created the *Post* to give Canadian conservatives a voice and to combat what he perceived as a liberal bias in Canadian media. The *Post* was an early supporter of the Canadian Alliance, which eventually became the Conservative Party under Harper's leadership. Despite several changes in leadership, the *Post* has retained its conservative editorial stance and is still politically and business oriented.

The *Toronto Star*, however, is considered a liberal-leaning news organization, based on its previous election endorsements and the values that it includes in its editorials. In a column on the editorial page that carried the 2011 NDP endorsement, Kathy English, the *Star*'s public editor, explained the newspaper's political positioning: "It is no secret that the *Star* is a small-l liberal news organization. The *Star* has long declared its institutional bias toward progressive principles and speaks out forcefully on its opinion pages for social and economic justice for all Canadians" ("Opinions"). These values are evident in the language and examples contained in the editorials. English notes that the *Star* is "not a mouthpiece for any political party," but "has traditionally given its editorial endorsement to the party and leader it believes most likely to advance the progressive principles this news organization stands for." However, that editorial endorsement has usually backed the Liberal Party. The *Star*'s endorsement of Layton and the NDP is only the second time in 13 elections that the newspaper has supported the NDP, although it also endorsed the Tories twice in that time.

The *Sun*, traditionally known for its conservative views, explicitly sets out its values and beliefs: small-c conservatism, transparency in a smaller but efficient government, lower taxes, and fiscal responsibility [SU.6, 18]. In its 1971 inaugural editorial, the *Sun* explained its proposed stance as a "politically non-partisan voice of moderation ... we are neither right nor left" ("Our Reason Why"). The *Sun*'s values include individualism, self-reliance, and strong support for the police and military ("About the *Toronto Sun*"). Editorials often condemn high taxes, high gas prices, and perceived government waste.

Newspapers carve out for themselves a position on the political spectrum. The viewpoints presented both reflect, and create, a community of readers who identify with a newspaper's stance. Newspapers, as noted earlier in the discussion of audience addressed and audience invoked, have a conception of their readers. They represent it in the "style and register of the language they employ, [and] the stereotypes which confirm the social and cultural perspectives of the reader" (Conboy, *Language of the News* 11). Newspapers produce a "textual version" of their readers, but Lunsford and Ede note that "representation of ourselves as well as of those audiences that we both invoke and address can never be innocent" (176). While editorials ostensibly reflect their readers' values and beliefs, they can also embody institutional and social

values; newspapers often embody the views of the elite to which they belong “while selling themselves to readers as if they embody these readers’ views of the world” (Conboy, *Language of the News* 12). As commercial activities, newspapers themselves are part of the fabric of economic and governmental structures. Newspapers, corporate entities in their own right, benefit economically when they foster conditions that allow the “system” to continue to function well. As large media enterprises, the *Globe* and the *Post* support Harper who has a well-established history of favouring business interests. By contrast, the NDP, with a proven propensity to increase taxes and debt, promotes policies that business leaders would consider detrimental. Although the editorials argue for specific actions and changes in policies, the changes envisioned are not “radical projects but overdue changes” [P.43]. The editorials generally argue in support of maintaining the status quo as a means to maintain social stability. The *Globe*, *Post*, *Star*, and *Sun* all commend the Conservatives for successful stewardship of the economy, some more wholeheartedly than others. The editorials are reluctant to suggest major changes in light of this achievement and the uncertain global economic situation. Similarly, the editorials do not address issues that could be more divisive such as native housing concerns or abortion. Although the *Post* and the *Globe* suggest that health care should be redefined, the proposition is not designed to tear down the system, but merely to adjust parameters so their readers can enjoy improved access.

In a stable democratic society, the media function as a loyal opposition; they support the democratic system, but provide another voice to ensure that actions are accomplished. They campaign against egregious activities that threaten people’s ways of life, but their self-appointed role is not to topple government. Reformist instincts are confined to “tweaking,” not to wholesale change. The positions these newspapers support may serve their own best interests as much as they do the interests of the readers they represent.

Discussion

This chapter explores the dual concepts of audience and reader evident in the sample endorsement editorials. Newspapers, as commercial enterprises, address a specific cohort of readers that is often defined on the basis of demographic information collected to attract potential

advertisers. My close reading of the sample set suggests that this audience addressed is comparable to the imagined or constructed audience that writers envision. This invoked audience (Ede and Lunsford 155) is defined on the basis of the values and beliefs readers are assumed to hold, since these form the basis for argumentation and persuasion. My close reading of the five editorial texts establishes how the editorials position their respective newspapers in relation to their readers. The endorsement editorials maintain a distinct role for themselves as observers and commentators, addressing and advising readers in their positions as voters. However, at times, the editorials ally themselves with voters. These varying positions for the author-newspaper suggest that the newspaper may be providing readers with various perspectives. At the same time, it raises questions about why the papers choose these particular positions, in relation to these issues.

When we examine these editorials from a rhetorical perspective, we are also forced to ask what version of democracy and government is put forth and, similarly, what form of stability does the editorial support. The four newspapers present different conceptions of government as they believe it should function in Canada in 2011. Each rests on a respect for, and a belief in, democracy, and each promotes a vision of government that will protect these democratic values and ensure a better life for citizens. Stability is a key concept for all the newspapers, but it is defined in different ways that reflect the issues the editorial believes are important to its readers.

The viewpoints presented in these five endorsement editorials both reflect and create a community of readers who may identify with the stance of each paper. Although editorials align their values with readers, they also represent their own interests as members of the business and political communities. They do not argue to replace the status quo but to improve and modify it for the benefit of their readership and of the country as a whole.

Chapter 5

Concluding Observations

In this project, I have examined the rhetorical strategies of endorsement editorials published in Canadian newspapers during the spring 2011 federal election. The endorsement editorial, for the purposes of this study, is defined as an editorial expressing a newspaper's support for a party or candidate in an upcoming election; in addition, the editorial may encourage readers to similarly adopt the paper's viewpoint and/or to vote in the recommended manner. Editorials are a valued and unique text within the journalistic field. Editorials are the place where newspapers speak directly to their readers and where opinion is allowed to be expressed (Meltzer 83). In an editorial, the newspaper can take a public stance on the issues that it considers the most important of the day (Conboy, *Language of the News* 82). As the voice of the newspaper, endorsement editorials employ a diverse range of argumentative strategies in their effort to convince readers to adopt the views presented.

Based on my study, I find that endorsement editorials combine elements of Aristotle's three forms or genres of texts: deliberative, forensic, and epideictic. The deliberative form, designed to derive the best possible solution, is an important component of editorials eliciting voter support in an election. The editorial's role is to consider, to debate, and to determine the most expedient course of action, and then to share those judgments with readers in a manner that will convince them of their reasonableness. "Endorsements are supposed to provide readers with the outcome or decision they would drive themselves if given the opportunity and time to interact first-hand with candidates and carefully weigh all information available" (Meltzer 89-90). As such, endorsement editorials are an important element of the political discourse of a community and a nation. However, the endorsement editorials in my study also incorporate aspects of forensic discourse as they review past actions and policies to evaluate the performance of government and candidates. This assessment of performance is appropriate in an election campaign whose purpose is to determine which party or candidate is best suited to lead the

country for the next few years. Governments are evaluated on their records in office. The opposition parties must rely on their performance in the campaign as a predictor of their future success. By assessing the efficacy of past actions, the endorsement editorial can extrapolate to future activities. The evaluation of past actions provides evidence to substantiate editorial deliberations and its ultimate recommendation or endorsement. Beyond looking to the past, the editorials also consider the present. Political leaders receive praise or blame, as the editorial warrants appropriate, invoking the epideictic genre. These assessments are also important for the deliberations because they lend additional support to the editorial's stance. Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca point out that epideictic is the genre most centrally concerned with values. It forms a central part of persuasion and is designed "to strengthen the disposition toward action by increasing adherence to the values it lauds" (50). None of these forms or genres is exclusive to the endorsement editorial, which incorporates elements of all three, in varying proportions. While the main purpose of an endorsement editorial may be to deliberate and arrive at the best course of action, a writer also relies on elements of forensic and epideictic discourse to substantiate the discussions and to persuade the reader of the validity of the proposed endorsement.

Furthermore, I find that that each writer assembles a combination of rhetorical appeals – logos, ethos, and pathos – to create a convincing case. Logical appeals might be anticipated to create the strongest and most acceptable appeals to readers who are considering choices affecting their government and the future of their country. However, the sample texts demonstrate that while logical appeals are significant, ethical and pathetic appeals, in varying combinations, are often the strongest and most persuasive when employed in conjunction with logos. Kenneth Burke suggests that persuasion results when a reader identifies or feels a "sameness" with the writer (*Rhetoric* 55). The prevalence of ethical and pathetic appeals in the endorsement editorials in the sample set suggests that writers are aware of this effect and work to invoke the values and beliefs that they share with readers.

Endorsement editorials are important to study even though they are published relatively infrequently; newspapers usually publish only one endorsement editorial per election. As the institutional voice of the newspaper, endorsement editorials provide a window into the beliefs

and values of the newspaper as a member of, and thought leader in, the community. While by no means exhaustive, this study contributes to an understanding of the complex forces at work in the endorsement editorial. My study provides insight into how writers assemble their rhetorical appeals to create what they believe will be a compelling case for the views expressed.

In chapter 2, *Arrangement*, I discuss the rhetorical concept of arrangement, one of the five canons of rhetoric. As part of arrangement, I examine structure and ordering of the various components of the endorsement editorial. Although Aristotle originally suggested that a speech need only have two parts, the statement and the proof, he later moderated that claim by suggesting requirements for an introduction and a conclusion (1414a). For the purposes of my study, I define seven discrete components that I contend are significant structures in endorsement editorials: thesis, endorsement, call-to-action, *kairos* or time-to-act, evidence, refutation, and context. In my study, I determined that endorsement, call-to-action, and *kairos* or time-to-act are particularly significant elements of an endorsement editorial. I distinguish endorsement from call-to-action on the basis of the focus of the support. In an endorsement, the statement of support emanates from the newspaper, as exemplified by the declaration “we support.” A call-to-action shifts the emphasis to the reader, with a directive from the newspaper defining an action that the reader should undertake, as in “Vote for ...” or “Give them your support.” As the name suggests, the endorsement is an important component of an endorsement editorial. However, in the sample texts, one editorial, published in the *Toronto Star*, despite having a very explicit argument in support of the NDP, does not incorporate an endorsement statement. Instead, the editorial includes two calls-to-action. The *Star 2* is the second installment of the *Star*’s editorial stance, and the writer may have determined that the previous editorial had presented sufficient background and mentally prepared the reader so that the second editorial did not require an endorsement, but could rely on the call-to-action as its supportive statement. It is also interesting to note the usage of endorsements. Each newspaper, with the exception of *Star 2* as just noted, includes an endorsement (or dis-endorsement in the case of *Star 1*). The *Post*, however, includes four endorsement statements in addition to a concluding call-to-action. The repetition of the endorsement, and a recursive pattern, emphasizes the point, and also increases the pathetic appeal for readers. However, it would be interesting to investigate further if this significantly

increases the strength of the argument, and in what circumstances it is most effective. While endorsements and/or calls-to-action were primarily placed at the conclusion, the *Sun* places its endorsement in its opening sentence. This placement suggests that the opinion is not unexpected for *Sun* readers and therefore does not need the provision of evidence and context to prepare readers for the viewpoint. A more extensive examination of endorsement editorials may reveal patterns of usage of endorsement statements, alone or in combination with, a call-to-action, and the resultant effects for the strength of the argumentation.

Kairos is a statement of the urgency or necessity to act now, suggesting that the time is opportune. In other words, *kairos* indicates that this is a critical time or “passing instant when an opening appears that must be driven through with force if success is to be achieved” (White 13). Three of the five editorials, *Globe*, *Post*, and *Star 2*, invoke this concept by including specific statements recognizing the opportunity to address the perceived exigence presented by the impending election. And in each case, the kairotic statement immediately precedes a concluding endorsement or call-to-action. This may suggest that a kairotic statement serves to enhance the persuasive nature of an endorsement or call-to-action by indicating there is both an “opportunity and a requirement for taking action” (Miller 312). Kairotic statements appeal to the emotions, and this emotional connection can be employed to motivate readers to act on the message conveyed in the endorsement or call-to-action.

Further study with a larger sample set could determine if there are other patterns in the placement of key elements and explore the anticipated persuasive effects. My study also raises questions that warrant further study to examine the rhetorical relationship between the endorsement statement and a call-to-action. Does an endorsement statement imply a lesser level of commitment on the part of the newspaper than a call-to-action does? Is an endorsement a prerequisite for a call-to-action or can they function independent of each other?

In chapter 3, *Argumentation*, I examine the endorsement editorials to uncover the argumentative strategies they employ to persuade readers and the way that they support their claims and opinions. The analysis is predominantly informed by the work of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, Stephen Toulmin, and Kenneth Burke. My first observation is that beliefs and values are an integral part of each of the editorials and that their importance is recognized by

each of these theorists. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca suggest that values and beliefs form the basis starting points for argumentation. For example, the argumentative structure they describe as means-to-an end, which I determine the *Globe* employs, embodies an emotional appeal based on values since readers have to desire the proposed end of a better country and stability (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 267). The value placed on the endpoint transfers to support for the means to achieve it, which the *Globe* argues is to elect Harper and the Conservatives. Values and beliefs are at the heart of warrants that connect claims to the grounds that back them in Toulmin's model. Similarly, Burke relies on the values and beliefs of readers as the source of the identification between reader and writer [*Rhetoric* 21]. Values are also at the heart of Burke's concept of expectation (*Counter-Statement* 124) that, similar to identification, helps create ethical and pathetic appeals.

I also observed that three editorials, the *Globe*, *Post* and *Star* 2, are examples of deliberative rhetoric with their focus on the future and a reasoned and thoughtful analysis of the current political and economic situation and future possibilities. However, in addition to their logical argumentation, these editorials employ significant but subtle ethical and pathetic appeals. The result is a compelling argument; yet, I question how compelling the *Post* editorial would be without the appeal to shared values and a vision of Canada or the hyperbolic paragraph detailing the dire prospect of a government "led by quasi-separatist socialists" [P.27]. The combination creates a persuasive synergy. The *Sun* relies almost entirely on appeals based in ethos and pathos, with the result that the argument appears strong and forceful. However, examination shows the argument lacks strong logical appeals and has no consideration for the future. Instead, the editorial relies on the epideictic and forensic genres, both of which incorporate strong emotional overtones. The editorial levies praise and accusations, provoking strong emotions in readers. However, close reading reveals logical fallacies in the arguments, fallacies which a reader can overlook in his or her strong emotional reactions. Similarly, *Star* 1 relies on forensic and epideictic rhetoric to forge its case for the dis-endorsement of the Tories. These observations suggest that a combination of all three appeals, and indeed all three forms of rhetoric, produces the most compelling arguments.

In chapter 4, *Audience*, I discuss the dual concepts of audience and reader evident in the editorials. Newspapers, as commercial enterprises, address a specific cohort of readers that is often defined on the basis of demographics known to attract potential advertisers. This audience addressed is comparable to the imagined or constructed audience that writers envision. The invoked audience (Ede and Lunsford 155) is defined on the basis of the values and beliefs readers are believed to hold, since these form the basis for argumentation and persuasion. A close reading of the five editorial texts establishes how the editorials position their respective newspapers in relation to their readers. The endorsement editorials maintain a distinct role for themselves as observers and commentators, addressing and advising readers in their roles as voters. However, at times, the editorials may align themselves with voters. For example, the *Globe* and the *Post* at times join with their readers, speaking as “we,” a construct that can include both the readers and the newspapers in their role as citizens or as part of the nation of Canada. At other times, these editorials speak on their own behalf, voicing the institutional opinion of their respective newspapers. At times, the reader becomes more of a spectator, than an addressee, such as in the *Toronto Sun* editorial in which the government is directly addressed and chastised by the writer.

I also examine the conception of government portrayed in the texts as a means of determining the values upheld by the newspapers. The four newspapers present different visions of government as they believe it should function in Canada in 2011. Each vision rests on a respect for, and a belief in, democracy, and each promotes a vision of government that will protect these democratic values and ensure a better life for citizens. The *Globe* and the *Post* argue that a strong leader is necessary to ensure that government fulfills its responsibilities. The *Star*, however, argues that government values should not be predicated on the changing nature of parties and leaders. This viewpoint allows the *Star* to denounce the incumbent Conservatives, turn away from its traditional support of the Liberal Party, and advocate electing the New Democrats – because they will provide the type of government the *Star* endorses. By contrast, the *Sun* conceives of government as inseparable from the Tories, but it appoints itself the voters’ representative tasked with overseeing the Tories to ensure that they live up to their promises and respect readers’ values. Stability is a key concept for all the newspapers, but it is defined in

different ways that reflect the issues their readers consider important. The viewpoints presented both reflect, and create, a community of readers who may potentially identify with the value structure of the paper. When editorials align their values with readers, they are also representing their own interests as members of the business and political communities. Their goal is not to replace the status quo but to improve and modify it for the benefit of their readership and of the country as a whole. The editorial is, in many ways, an ethos-building and reinforcing act of the newspaper, in that each editorial puts the newspaper's credibility at risk. A newspaper may be reluctant to deviate from what it perceives as the accepted norms and values of its discourse community, raising the questions of whether editorials reflect or help create these beliefs of its readers. The social context in which language is used and the social consequences are intimately related to power – the power to shape understanding about events (Richardson 45).

While my study has uncovered some interesting insights into the structuring and functioning of the endorsement editorial, as used in a political situation, there is much work that remains to be done. Further research in this area, and with a broader corpus, may reveal other relevant aspects of endorsement editorials. I suggest that the delineation of components that I utilized, and the methodology of schematic representation, could be useful to examine other forms of endorsement editorials or, indeed, editorials in general. The use of figuration, in particular figures of speech and tropes such as metaphors, raises interesting questions about their effectiveness and persuasive functions in a text designed to address logical and serious issues of public interest. As an individual text, the *Sun* editorial offers much potential for further study of its rhetorically rich text.

My study provides insights into the dense argumentation and persuasion at work in endorsement editorials. My close reading reveals that editorial writers incorporate a complex approach to argumentation in these texts and suggests that a combination of methodologies is necessary to understand how these texts create their persuasive effect. I suggest that the theorists I assembled for this study provide a foundation for future research but that other theories or methods may be helpful to determine the most effective placement of, for example, *kairos* statements or endorsements. The endorsement editorials in this sample set not only communicate each newspaper's values, but help shape them as well. This dialectical aspect is an important

factor related to understanding how editorials as a genre reinforce the existing power structure and the newspaper's own ethos as a community opinion leader. Writing never occurs in a vacuum, but influences, and is influenced by, its context. Language brings about change through shaping understandings and influencing audience attitudes and beliefs (Richardson 29).

Editorials by definition are designed to elicit a response from readers – occasionally physically, by moving readers to action, but more often cognitively.

My study shows that endorsement editorials create persuasive arguments by combining deliberative discourse with forensic and epideictic rhetoric: endorsement editorials are primarily concerned with recommending the expediency of a course of action, in particular electing a party or leader to govern. But they must justify their decisions on the basis of the past actions of the parties and the qualities of leaders. Although grounded in logical appeals, the endorsement editorials in this study sample exhibit a combination of the three appeals, with pathos and ethos often the strongest, to produce a compelling argument.

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Appendices

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Objects of Study

Globe and Mail Thursday, April 28, 2011

A20

“Election 2011: Facing Up to Our Challenges.”

[G.1]We are nearing the end of an unremarkable and disappointing election campaign, marked by petty scandals, policy convergences and a dearth of serious debate. [G.2]Canadians deserved better. [G.3]We were not presented with an opportunity to vote for something bigger and bolder, nor has there been an honest recognition of the most critical issues that lie ahead: a volatile economy, ballooning public debts and the unwieldy future of our health-care system.

[G.4]The challenges facing our next federal government do not end there, of course. [G.5]The next House of Commons must find new ways to protect Parliament, the heart of our democracy. [G.6]It needs to reform its troubled equalization program without straining national unity. [G.7]Relations with the U.S. are at a critical juncture. [G.8]Any thickening of the border threatens to punish all Canadians, while negotiations over perimeter security have implications for national sovereignty and economic security. [G.9]Wars in Libya and Afghanistan, climate change, Canada's role in the world, the rapid and exciting change of the country's ethnic and cultural makeup - the list is great, as is the need for strong leadership in Ottawa.

[G.10]Whom should Canadians turn to?

[G.11]The Liberal Party's Michael Ignatieff has been an honourable opposition leader; he has risen above the personal attacks launched by the Conservatives, he has stood up for Parliament, and he has fought hard in this election. [G.12]But his campaign failed to show how the Conservative government has failed, and why he and the Liberals are a preferred alternative.

[G.13]Jack Layton has energized the New Democrats and the electorate, and seems more able than the other leaders to connect with ordinary people. [G.14]He has succeeded in putting a benign gloss on his party's free-spending policies, but those policies remain unrealistic and unaffordable, at a time when the country needs to better manage public spending, not inflate it. [G.15]He has shown that a federalist party can make serious inroads in Quebec, but it has come at the cost of an unwelcome promise to impose provisions of Quebec's language law in federal workplaces.

[G.16]Only Stephen Harper and the Conservative Party have shown the leadership, the bullheadedness (let's call it what it is) and the discipline this country needs. [G.17]He has built the Conservatives into arguably the only truly national party, and during his five years in office has demonstrated strength of character, resolve and a desire to reform. [G.18]Canadians take Mr. Harper's successful stewardship of the economy for granted, which is high praise. [G.19]He has not been the scary character portrayed by the opposition; with some exceptions, his government has been moderate and pragmatic.

[G.20]Mr. Harper could achieve a great deal more if he would relax his grip on Parliament, its independent officers and the flow of information, and instead bring his disciplined approach to bear on the great challenges at hand. [G.21]That is the great strike against the Conservatives: a disrespect for Parliament, the abuse of prorogation, the repeated attempts (including during this campaign) to stanch debate and free expression. [G.22]It is a disappointing failing in a leader who previously emerged from a populist movement that fought so valiantly for democratic reforms.

[G.23]Those who disdain the Harper approach should consider his overall record, which is good. [G.24]The Prime Minister and the Conservative Party have demonstrated principled judgment on the economic file. [G.25]They are not doctrinaire; with the support of other parties they adopted stimulus

spending after the financial crash of 2008, when it was right to do so. [G.26]They have assiduously pursued a whole range of trade negotiations. [G.27]They have facilitated the extension of the GST/HST to Ontario and British Columbia, and have persisted in their plan for a national securities regulator. [G.28]The Conservatives have greater respect, too, for the free market, and for freedom of international investment, in spite of their apparent yielding to political pressure in the proposed takeover of Potash Corp.

[G.29]Even more determination will be needed to confront the sustainability of publicly funded health care in an aging society. [G.30]Health care is suffering from chronic spending disease. [G.31]If left unchecked, it could swallow as much as 31 cents of each new dollar in wealth created in Canada in the next 20 years. [G.32]In spite of some unwise commitments he has made on subsidy increases to the provinces, Mr. Harper has the toughness and reformist instincts to push the provinces toward greater experimentation (in private delivery, for instance) and change.

[G.33]*The campaign of 2011 - so vicious and often vapid - should not be remembered fondly. [G.34]But that will soon be behind us. [G.35]If the result is a confident new Parliament, it could help propel Canada into a fresh period of innovation, government reform and global ambition.*

[G.36]**Stephen Harper and the Conservatives are best positioned to guide Canada there.**

Key: Thesis – Red Underlined; Endorsement – **Brown Bold**; Call-to-Action – **ORANGE ITALIC CAPS**; Kairos or Time-to-Act – **Teal Blue Bold Italic**; Evidence – **Purple**; Refutation – **Green**; Context – Dark Blue.

National Post Friday, April 29, 2011

A1, A4

Still Right for Canada:

Stephen Harper's Conservatives are the Clear Choice in Uncertain Times

[P.1]On Oct. 8, 2008, six days before the last federal election, we wrote these words about our Prime Minister: “Stephen Harper has governed the country well overall. [P.2]He has stuck by Canada’s mission in Afghanistan, provided sound stewardship for the economy (notwithstanding the inevitable buffeting we [have taken] thanks to Wall Street’s meltdown), managed the Quebec file well, returned Canada-U.S. relations to their normal level of amity, lowered taxes and implemented a number of welcome tweaks to our criminal justice system. [P.3]Most importantly of all, Mr. Harper has avoided the temptation to impose any large-scale Trudeauvian social-engineering schemes on the country.”

[P.4]Though written almost three years ago, these words apply as much today as they did in 2008.

[P.5]Despite opposition efforts to present Mr. Harper as a radical, his tenure as prime minister — which now extends more than five years — actually has been marked by steadiness and constancy. [P.6]The main question in this election is about who can steer Canada forward during uncertain economic times.

[P.7]**Given Mr. Harper’s record of intelligent, sober leadership, and the many question marks associated with his opponents, his Conservatives are our clear choice in Monday’s election.**

[P.8]Under Mr. Harper, Canadian GDP growth has been among the strongest of all developed nations.

[P.9]We have contributed effectively and honourably to the mission in Afghanistan, and even stood with our allies in confronting Muammar Gaddafi in Libya. [P.10]The anti-Americanism that infected the government during the Chrétien and Martin eras is gone — as is the moral relativism that sometimes was the reality behind their “soft power” dogmas. [P.11]In particular, Mr. Harper has stood by Israel in times of crisis, including at the United Nations.

[P.12]On social policy, meanwhile, Mr. Harper has struck a solid balance between maintaining sound elements of the status quo — such as gay marriage — while stripping away ultra-liberal excesses such as the Court Challenges Program.

[P.13]His government has made sensible changes to our immigration policy, which now emphasizes marketable skills over family reunification. [P.14]And the new Citizenship Guide more accurately reflects the process of integration and respect for Western cultural values that we expect of new immigrants.

[P.15]Canada needs steady leadership in the years ahead — and not just because of the fragile global economy. [P.16]In Quebec, the Parti Québécois has a good chance to win Quebec’s next provincial election, bringing with it the prospect of fresh separatist agitation. [P.17]The last three minority governments all have shown us that a Parliament sitting at the Bloc Québécois’ pleasure is a Parliament vulnerable to regional blackmail. [P.18]Canada needs a strong majority — of the sort Jean Chrétien had when he gave us the Clarity Act — to face down the stream of demands that PQ leader Pauline Marois promises will emit from Quebec City if she becomes premier. [P.19]**Only the Tories are in a position to achieve such a majority.**

[P.20]If Mr. Harper does not receive a majority, the result could be destabilizing for Canada. [P.21]We believe Michael Ignatieff when he says that he will not form a coalition to immediately seize power following Monday’s election. [P.22]But, as he candidly and correctly noted in a CBC interview, all bets are off if the opposition parties subsequently vote down a Tory minority government in a confidence vote. [P.23]The Governor-General then could permit Mr. Ignatieff to form a government with the formal or

informal support of the BQ. [P.24]Whether such an arrangement amounts to a “coalition” in a narrow sense is immaterial so long as the resulting hodge-podge is a creature of Gilles Duceppe’s co-operation.

[P.25]To add another layer of uncertainty, there is no guarantee that Mr. Ignatieff would even lead such a quasi-coalition government: Recent poll results suggest that Jack Layton’s NDP might win more seats than the Liberals. [P.26]While the NDP once might have seemed like a safe place for disaffected voters to park their protest vote, that is no longer the case — especially since Mr. Layton has shown himself to be alarmingly sympathetic to the power-grab demands of Quebec nationalists during this campaign.

[P.27]In other words, if the Tories do not get a majority, we could end up with a government led by quasi-separatist socialists, propped up by full-blown separatists and leavened by a rudderless Liberal party in a state of leadership flux. [P.28]No one has any real idea what such a government would look like.

[P.29]**And so the only way we can guarantee stability is if the Tories win at least 155 seats.**

[P.30]The need for stability notwithstanding, there are certain things that should change, however.

[P.31]Spending has ballooned under the Tories - only some of which can be blamed on the perceived need for stimulus that emerged in the wake of the 2008 U.S.-epicentred financial meltdown. [P.32]The Tories have embraced protectionism on politically sensitive files (such as potash), maintained the statist status quo on health care and have injected countless populist doodads into their budgets. [P.33]A re-elected Conservative government, sitting as a majority, must trim spending and move aggressively to reduce the deficit. [P.34]It should also revisit its more draconian tough-on-crime initiatives - some of which, as *National Post* columnist Conrad Black has noted, seem more spiteful than sensible.

[P.35]It is also true that the Tories have played fast and loose with Parliamentary disclosure rules. [P.36]While the recent contempt of Parliament ruling was a partisan stunt, there was substance to the underlying allegation that the Tories failed to provide Parliament with full costing information on their signature programs. [P.37]The Tories came to power with promises of greater accountability in Ottawa. [P.38]If anything, they have given us less. [P.39]That, too, must change.

[P.40]**If the Tories do win a majority — as we hope they do** — we also hope that they push forward on projects that proved impossible in a minority government, including eliminating per-vote financial subsidies for political parties, phasing out the long-gun registry and initiating Senate reform. [P.41]We also urge the next government to finally and decisively reject the strict interpretation of the Canada Health Act that, until now, has discouraged private health options in this country. [P.42]Canadians are ready for a European-style mixed system of public and private health care.

[P.43]*These are not radical projects, but overdue changes that have been stymied by bickering parties locked in a minority Parliament.* [P.44]*The time has come to break this logjam, WHICH IS WHY WE URGE OUR READERS TO VOTE CONSERVATIVE ON MAY 2.*

Key: Thesis – Red Underlined; Endorsement – **Brown Bold**; Call-to-Action – **ORANGE ITALIC CAPS**; Kairos or Time-to-Act – **Teal Blue Bold Italic**; Evidence – **Purple**; Refutation – **Green**; Context – **Dark Blue**.

The Election Choice: No New Mandate for Conservatives

[ST1.1]Two-and-a-half years ago, when Stephen Harper was seeking his second mandate from Canadian voters, some of those inclined to support him and his Conservatives were seduced by the hope that he would grow in office. [ST1.2]He might seem mean-spirited and divisive, they argued, but give him another chance. [ST1.3]The sobering exercise of power would surely shape him into a more mature, more inclusive leader.

[ST1.4]So much for that. [ST1.5]Canadians have now had more than five years to see the Harper Conservatives in action, constrained only by having to navigate the shoals of two minority Parliaments. [ST1.6]Throughout, the Conservatives had a choice. [ST1.7]They could have accepted the fact that two voters in three did not support them. [ST1.8]They could have reached out to opponents and sought genuine compromise on tough issues. [ST1.9]They could have tried to unite an electorate fractured among parties and philosophies.

[ST1.10]Instead, they took another path. [ST1.11]They chose to double down on the politics of division. [ST1.12]The second minority Harper government was like the first one — only more so. [ST1.13]Contempt for Parliament, demonizing critics, shutting down legitimate questions — the sorry litany has become all too familiar. [ST1.14]As with all organizations, the tone is set at the top. [ST1.15]If the guy in charge does not trust others and is terminally suspicious of every contrary view, his government will reflect that.

[ST1.16]It is especially ironic that Harper finds himself in this position. [ST1.17]He has betrayed — or perhaps forgotten — the democratic Reform principles that sent him to Ottawa vowing to break up the cozy club of entrenched power brokers. [ST1.18]“You’ve become what you used to oppose. What happened to you?” the NDP’s Jack Layton asked Harper in one of the few memorable moments of the televised leaders’ debates. [ST1.19]There was no answer — nor could there be.

[ST1.20]On other issues, the Harper government has disappointed. [ST1.21]Its foreign policy has squandered much of the credibility that previous Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments built for Canada around the world. [ST1.22]Even Brian Mulroney, while negotiating much closer trade links with the United States, championed a clearly distinct role for this country in such areas as the Middle East and opposing apartheid in South Africa. [ST1.23]The Harper Conservatives seem dismissive of the possibility that Canada could play a progressive, constructive role in international affairs; their failure to obtain a seat on the United Nations Security Council showed that the rest of the world has — sadly — reached a similar conclusion.

[ST1.24]At home, it has pushed an expensive and counterproductive tough-on-crime agenda. [ST1.25] Its pork-barrelling around the G8/G20 summits is all too predictable. [ST1.26]Its support for the military has morphed into a blank cheque for fancy fighter jets that we don’t need, and will cost many billions more than advertised. [ST1.27]It has presided over growing social and economic inequality, stripping millions of Canadians of any stake in the country’s economic success.

[ST1.28]The Conservatives’ strongest suit — their main claim to the “stable” majority government they crave — is the economy. [ST1.29]Voters are rightly relieved that Canada escaped the worst of the global recession. [ST1.30]They should keep in mind that the record is much more mixed. [ST1.31]The Conservatives get credit for the durability of our closely regulated banking system, despite their doubts on regulation. [ST1.32]Just as important, previous governments, most notably those of Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin, built the firm foundation that carried us through. [ST1.33]The Conservatives are riding on the tough and controversial deficit-fighting work of their Liberal predecessors.

[ST1.34]Harper is now going for broke, grasping for the majority mandate that has twice eluded him. [ST1.35]By now it is clear what that would mean: smaller government, a diminished role for Ottawa in national affairs, and a push, if not a lurch, to the right on social issues.

[ST1.36]Above all, it would mean a government that would not propose a bold vision of a better Canada five and 10 years down the road, mainly because it does not believe in such things.

[ST1.37]Government as the solution to all problems may be out of date. [ST1.38]But government can still be a vitally relevant part of the solution — if it wants to be.

[ST1.39]The Harper Conservatives deliberately chose not to aim high. [ST1.40]Far from growing in office, they have diminished themselves and our national politics. [ST1.41]**For that alone, they do not deserve a renewed mandate.**

[ST1.42]**Saturday: the alternative in Monday's election.**

Key: Thesis – Red Underlined; Endorsement – **Brown Bold**; Call-to-Action – *ORANGE ITALIC CAPS*; Kairos or Time-to-Act – *Teal Blue Bold Italic*; Evidence – **Purple**; Refutation – **Green**; Context – Dark Blue.

Toronto Star 2 Saturday, April 30, 2011

A26

The Election Choice: For Layton and the NDP

[ST2.1]Monday's federal election may well turn out to be historic for all kinds of reasons that were not obvious when it was called five weeks ago today.

[ST2.2]Unless the pollsters have totally misread the mood of the voters, Stephen Harper's Conservatives look to be heading for another victory. [ST2.3]As we said on Friday, that would be bad for the country. [ST2.4]The last thing Canada needs is an affirmation of a government obsessed with control, dismissive of critics, and determined to further diminish the role of the state in charting a better future for the country.

[ST2.5]Voters who believe that Canada can — and should — aim higher have an important decision. [ST2.6]Until 10 days ago, they had only one realistic alternative to the Conservatives — the Liberal party under Michael Ignatieff. [ST2.7]Today, that is no longer the case.

[ST2.8]The New Democrats have been reinvigorated under the leadership of Jack Layton. [ST2.9]After Monday, they may well challenge the Liberals as the principal national standard-bearer for the roughly two voters in three who disagree fundamentally with the course charted by the Harper Conservatives. [ST2.10]*PROGRESSIVE VOTERS SHOULD GIVE THEM THEIR SUPPORT ON MONDAY.*

[ST2.11]In the past it has been easy to dismiss the federal NDP as naive idealists. [ST2.12]That no longer applies. [ST2.13]In this campaign they have emerged as a credible force, for many reasons.

- [ST2.14] The party is on the verge of a historic breakthrough in Quebec, which would go far toward establishing it as a truly national party. [ST2.15]Pushing back the Bloc Québécois is an enormous service to all Canadians. [ST2.16]For the long-term unity of the country it is vital to have a national federalist leader trusted in Quebec as well as other regions. [ST2.17]Layton's roots in Quebec have proven key to this.

- [ST2.18] The platform the NDP offers voters is ambitious and puts people first. [ST2.19]It focuses on seniors, health care and the environment. [ST2.20] It is in the broad tradition of nation-building that has long been at the heart of Canadian politics. [ST2.21]After years of hearing the Harper Conservatives give the back of the hand to such aspirations, it is refreshing to see.

- [ST2.22] On economic issues, long the NDP's weakest point, the party is much sounder than it has been in the past. [ST2.23]It is reaching out to small business as the main motor of job creation, and proposes no increases in personal taxes (though it would hike the corporate tax rate to 19.5 per cent). [ST2.24]It pledges to balance the federal budget in four years, the same as the Liberals and Conservatives.

- [ST2.25]In Layton it has a leader who has won the trust of many voters — a rare feat in a time dominated by cynical, ultra-partisan politicking. [ST2.26]As a product of Toronto's municipal scene and a veteran of urban politics, he is more attuned than any other major leader to the needs of our country's cities — the engines of innovation and future prosperity.

[ST2.27]Question marks remain. [ST2.28]The NDP has never felt the discipline of power at the national level, and it shows. [ST2.29]There are doubts about some of its proposals, including the amount that might be raised from its cap-and-trade system and its plan to claw back revenue from tax havens.

[ST2.30]New Democrats have shown at the provincial level that once in office they can square their social conscience with fiscal responsibility. [ST2.31]They are the party of Tommy Douglas, Allan Blakeney and Roy Romanow — pragmatists with a vision and a heart. [ST2.32] Now that a much more significant role beckons at the federal level they must accept the challenge of developing that approach nationally as well.

[ST2.33]The way this campaign has developed took everyone by surprise. [ST2.34]The biggest disappointment has been the Liberal party under Ignatieff. [ST2.35]Going into the campaign they had by far the biggest challenge — to connect with voters and offer a strong alternative to the Conservatives. [ST2.36]They had to overcome the Conservatives’ brutal but effective framing of Ignatieff as something other than a real Canadian. [ST2.37]With only two days to go before voting day, all the signs are that they have fallen short.

[ST2.38]Ignatieff has spent the past few days lamenting the loss of the centre ground of Canadian politics and attacking the NDP as spendthrifts and “boy scouts.” [ST2.39]His party’s collapse in Quebec raises the question of whether it can truly be considered a national force at this point. [ST2.40]Liberal governments built much of what is best about this country — but voters are sending a clear message that they don’t feel they owe the Liberals anything for what the party did once upon a time. [ST2.41]Nor do they believe the party has fully purged itself of the cronyism and corruption of the past. [ST2.42]Elections are about the future, and the Liberals have not made a persuasive case for themselves as the alternative in 2011.

[ST2.43]*Fortunately, this time there is a real choice.* [ST2.44]*VOTERS WHO BELIEVE CANADA SHOULD ASPIRE TO SOMETHING GREATER THAN THE CRABBED, NARROW VISION OFFERED BY THE HARPER CONSERVATIVES SHOULD LOOK TO JACK LAYTON AND THE NEW DEMOCRATS ON MONDAY.*

Key: Thesis – Red Underlined; Endorsement – **Brown Bold**; Call-to-Action – *ORANGE ITALIC CAPS*; Kairos or Time-to-Act – *Teal Blue Bold Italic*; Evidence – **Purple**; Refutation – **Green**; Context – Dark Blue.

Toronto Sun Sunday, May 1, 2011

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Sun backs Stephen Harper

[SU.1] **While Sun Media today endorses the Conservatives in this election, it does not come unencumbered by caveats or conditions.**

[SU.2] It comes, instead, with warnings and serious strings attached, even as it reflects our strong belief that Stephen Harper needs a majority to make the changes this country desperately needs.

[SU.3] Because Canada's future economic health is the forefront issue, Harper's deft handling of the recession cannot be understated, and it should not go unrewarded.

[SU.4] But here's some Hard News and Straight Talk for the Tories.

[SU.5] They had better deliver.

[SU.6] From the day we took our first breath, what has become the largest newspaper chain in Canada has always stood for the advancement of small-c conservatism, and our demand for transparency in a smaller but efficient government has never wavered.

[SU.7] Under Harper's watch, however, the federal civil service has sadly become even more bloated. [SU.8] In fact, one in seven eligible voters tomorrow takes from the public purse — meaning we have too many "takers" in Canada and not enough "makers."

[SU.9] This has to end.

[SU.10] In 2006, Harper vowed accountability and transparency in his government yet then proceeded, among other things, to muzzle his caucus and stifle the flow of public information, including on Crown corporations — like the CBC — that should already be on the government's website, not falsely wrapped in secrecy.

[SU.11] If a Harper majority is not achieved, however, we shudder at the destructive path Michael Ignatieff's Liberals or Jack Layton's NDP — alone or in cahoots — will take by refusing to address the over-sated public service, refusing to reduce taxation, and then pushing the deficit to truly unaffordable heights.

[SU.12] Making hard decisions for the good of the country is not in their genes. [SU.13] But it should be in Harper's.

[SU.14]Ignatieff is a patrician, high in forehead but short on insight. [SU.15]He knows next to nothing about the country he abandoned for more than 30 years, yet he somehow expects to be consecrated based on his perceived Liberal entitlement.

[SU.16]And Jack knows jack. [SU.17]There he was this past week, promising to lower taxes at the pump in one breath while calling for cap-and-trade in the next — a scheme proven to cause an even greater skyrocketing of home-heating, electricity and gas prices.

[SU.18]From the outset of the campaign, the promises Harper put forward had a responsible timeline for a balanced budget by 2014, and it was not based on maxing Canada's credit and then taxing Canadians into utter despair.

[SU.19]After all, it's the taxpayers who foot every bill, and Harper must respect this undeniable fact unequivocally.

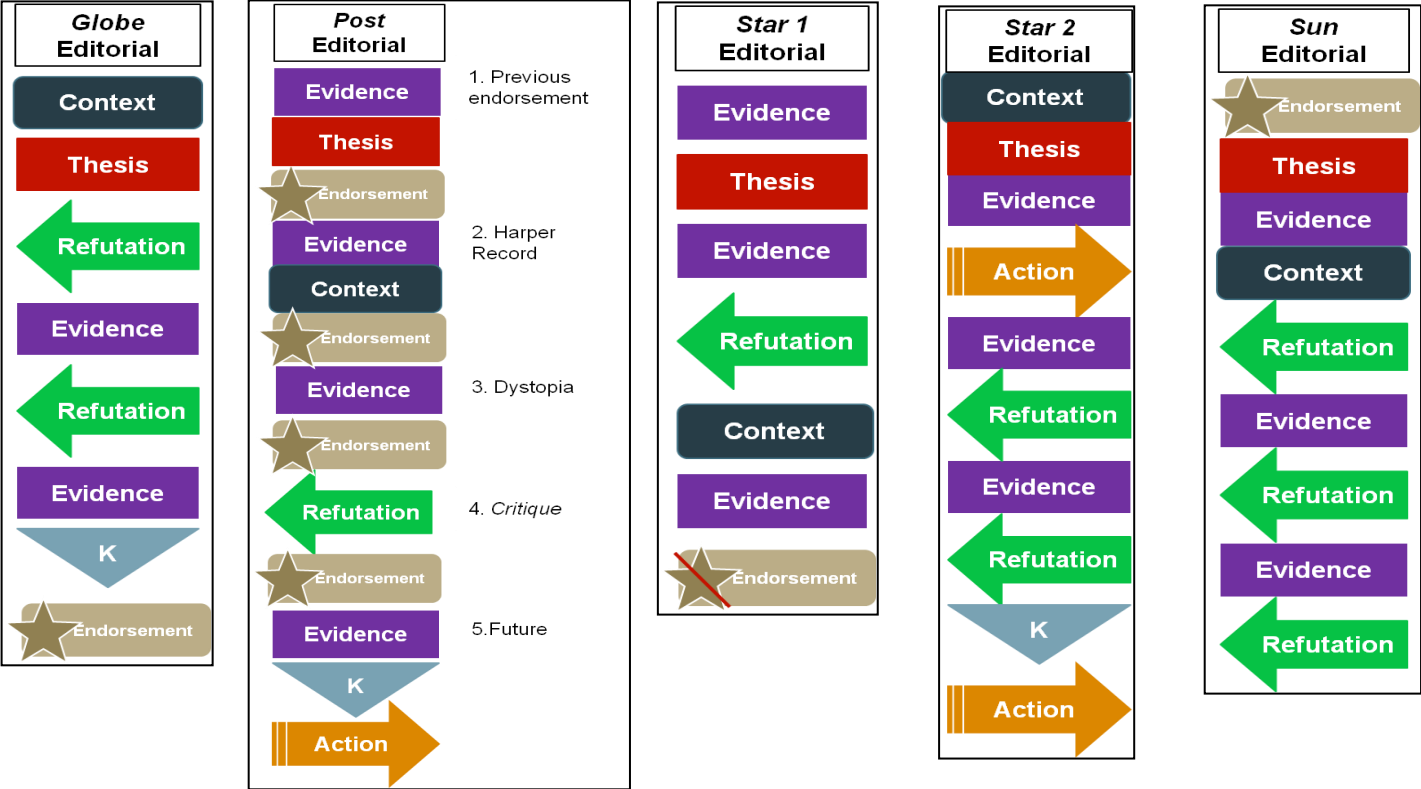
[SU.20]Otherwise, we will go for his political throat like no dog on a bone ever seen.

[SU.21]You, Stephen Harper, are not their boss.

[SU.22]They are yours.

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Schematic Arrangement of Editorials



Key
K = Kairos
Action = Call-to-action